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The Indian National Congress

1930 - 34

Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee during the period between Jan. 1930 to Sep. 1934. Some important statements and other documents of the period are also given.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
SWARAJ BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

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NOTE

The period extending from January 1930 to September 1934 when the second Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended, was one of great storm and stress. There was a brief interlude of comparative peace in 1931 governed by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. But the pact had never a fair chance. There were throughout the period, complaints by Congressmen and Congress organisations of non-fulfilment of the terms of the pact by the officials. It was therefore a time of unstable equilibrium and the attention to normal office work was difficult. For the rest of this period the A. I. C. C. office was scarcely functioning. Its physical habitat the Swaraj Bhawan was under confiscation and occupied by the police. Its records were either in Government hands or distributed among Congress sympathisers for safe custody. The office itself like a disembodied spirit moved from place to place. At one time it was in U. P. at another time in Bombay and still later at Calcutta. Any hospitable habitation was good enough for the time being. Most of its activities were carried on by a band of devoted but comparatively less known persons, in secret.

Under these circumstances it was not possible to keep the continuity of office work or the periodical issue of bulletins. There was consequently no issue of the Indian National Congress throughout the period.

The present volume contains all that has been gleaned out of the wreckage of our records. In salvaging the material, thanks are due to my former colleague, the Office Secretary, Shri Krishna Das whose patient industry was of very great help to me.

In the natural course this should have been Volume No. VIII but this number was given to the last volume covering the period from September 1934 to March 1936. which was published in July 1936. The present Volume No. IX covers the period from January 1930 to September 1934. It will be observed that there is some variation in the

order so far followed in compiling the I. N. C. volumes. Instead of the matter being arranged under three separate heads, A. I. C. C., Working Committee and Annual Session we have followed the chronological order. This will help to bring before the reader a connected picture of the events that filled the four fateful years of our national life.

J. B. KRIPTALANI

PART I

PURNA SWARAJYA INDEPENDENCE DAY

The following resolution was issued on behalf of the Working Committee for adoption by public meetings all over the country on Purna Swarajya Day, Sunday, January 26th, 1930:

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

"India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay, 20 per cent are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

"Village industries, such as hand spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

"Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufactures, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the

masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

"Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

"Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

"Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

"We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj."

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Sabarmati, February 14, 15 and 16, 1930

1. CONDOLENCE

The Committee puts on record its deep sorrow at the death of Moulvi Mazharul Haque who endeared himself to the people by his outspokenness, sacrifice and above all his labours towards communal unity.

2. ACCOUNTS AND REPORTS

The following Accounts and Reports were placed before the Working Committee:—

- (i) A. I. C. C. office statements for December 1929 and January 1930.
- (ii) Treasurer's statements for November and December 1929 and January 1930.
- (iii) Berlin Information Bureau's statement of accounts for December 1929.
- (iv) Report of Anti-untouchability committee.
- (v) List of Congress members of legislatures resigned.
- (vi) Reports of Independence Day celebrations.
- (vii) Reports of membership from different P. C. Cs.

3. CALCUTTA CONGRESS ACCOUNTS

The accounts of the Calcutta Congress Reception Committee were recorded.

4. TOURING EXPENSES OF WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

It was resolved that a separate budget head be opened in the A. I. C. C. budget for expenditure on travelling by Working Committee members on Congress work and that a sum of Rs. 2,000 be sanctioned for this purpose.

5. GRANTS TO SUB-COMMITTEES

Resolved that the office be authorised to incur expenditure for grants to Anti-Untouchability, Foreign Cloth Boycott and Prohibition Committees in accordance with the budget prepared, pending its approval by the A. I. C. C.

6. GRANT TO SHRI BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Resolved that the grant upto Rs. 25 per month be continued to Shri Benarsidas Chaturvedi for work on behalf of Indians overseas.

7. HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL

Resolved that a sum of Rs. 2,000 be granted to the Hindustani Seva Dal.

8. BERLIN INFORMATION BUREAU

Resolved that the sum of £ 32 per month be continued to be paid to the Berlin Information Bureau.

9. PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTION

Resolved that the provinces should be classed as Special, First, Second and Third classes and that it should be made incumbent upon them to pay as their annual subscription to the A. I. C. C. the sums of Rs. 1,000, 500, 250 and 100 respectively. The Committee in accordance with this resolution fixed the following quota for the various provinces:

Ajmer	..	100	Delhi	.	100
Andhra		500	Gujarat	.	500
Assam		100	Karnatak	.	250

Behar	500	Kerala	100
Bengal	500	Maharashtra	250
Berar	100	N. W. F.	100
Burma	250	Punjab	250
C. P. Hindi	250	Sind	250
C. P. Marathi	100	Tamil Nad	500
Bombay	1,000	U. P.	500
		Utkal	250

Further resolved that the sums allotted to the provinces can be paid in two instalments and that the first must be paid by the 31st of March and the second by the 30th of June.

10. LABOUR RESEARCH SCHOLAR

Resolved that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan be appointed as a Labour Research Scholar for three months on probation.

11. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In the opinion of the Working Committee civil disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Purna Swaraj as an article of faith and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start civil disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in action all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters their full co-operation in every way possible and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation that may be offered. The Working Committee further hopes that in the event of a mass movement taking place all those who are rendering voluntary co-operation to the Government, such as lawyers and those who

are receiving so-called benefits from it, such as students will withdraw their co-operation or renounce benefits as the case may be and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom.

The Working Committee trusts that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them will carry on the Congress organisation and guide the movement to the best of their ability.

12. CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

In view of the fact that the annual Congress session will in future be held in the month of February or March the following changes in the constitution be made:—

Art. II, Cl. (a). Instead of "last week of December" substitute "month of February or March to be fixed by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Committee of the province concerned."

Art. VI, Cl. (d). Instead of "before the 30th November" substitute "Not later than one month before the commencement of the annual session of the Congress."

Art. VII, Cl. (iii) Instead of "January" substitute "April" Instead of "December" substitute "March."

Such other consequential changes in dates as follow from the above.

Further that in Art. 1, after the word "Swarajya" put in brackets "Complete Independence."

TRANSITORY PROVISION

Congress members enrolled in 1930 shall continue to be members till March 31, 1931.

13. RENEWAL OF CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP

Members shall be entitled to exercise the rights of membership for one month after the close of the year. Their names will be kept on the rolls for an additional two months but they will not have the right to participate in Congress

meetings unless they pay their subscription for the current year. If their subscription is not paid at the end of the third month of the new year their names will be struck off the membership rolls. They will be eligible however to join as new members at any time they pay their subscription.

14. DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

Resolved that those Congressmen who have not resigned their seats in the legislatures or having resigned have sought re-election, should be requested by the Secretaries to resign their membership of any elective Congress Committees that they might hold and on their failure to comply with this request, the President may take such steps against them as are contemplated in the disciplinary rules.

15. BENGAL DISPUTE

The Secretary placed before the Committee a copy of the award of Pt. Motilal Nehru in the Bengal election dispute as also the letters of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta and the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. Resolved that in view of all the circumstances the Committee is of opinion that fresh elections for the A. I. C. C. should be held in Bengal.

16. INCOME TAX

The Working Committee recommends to the P. C. Cs. to frame rules for the levying of contributions from Congressmen, based on a percentage of their incomes. These contributions shall be levied on members of elective Committees and income below Rs. 300 per annum may be exempted. Ten per cent of the gross collections shall be paid to the A. I. C. C. less the fixed provincial contributions.

17. TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Committee notes with regret that the assurances given by Government for the better treatment of political prisoners which induced the A. I. C. C. to pass resolution No. 4, dated September 28, 1929 have not been fulfilled and that the Lahore prisoners have felt impelled in protest to resort to Hunger strike in jail.

18. G. I. P. RAILWAY STRIKE

This Committee expresses its general agreement with the demands of the G. I. P. Ry. workers for security of service and abolition of racial discrimination and no victimisation. The Committee is of opinion that these demands are reasonable and regrets that the attitude of the railway authorities towards them has been such as to compel the railway workers to go on strike. The Committee trusts that a conciliation Board will be appointed to consider the workers' grievances and thus bring about a satisfactory and honourable settlement.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Ahmedabad, March 20 and 21, 1930

1. ACCOUNTS AND REPORTS

The following accounts and reports were placed before the Working Committee:—

- (i) Office accounts for February 1930.
- (ii) Treasurer's accounts for February 1930.
- (iii) Anti-Untouchability Committee's accounts for December 1929 and January and February 1930.
- (iv) Berlin Information Bureau's accounts for January 1930.

2. OUTSTANDINGS

(i) The President was authorised to take such steps as he may consider necessary to recover the following sums due from Mr. K. M. Panikkar and Mr. T. Prakasam:

Mr. K. M. Panikkar—Rs. 249-1-11, balance due from him on account of the Akali Prisoners' Families Relief Fund.

Mr. T. Prakasam—Rs. 500, balance of loan advanced to him in December 1926.

(ii) Resolved that the sum of Rs. 1,500 due from the Punjab P. C. C. on account of the temporary loan advanced in 1927 be recovered in monthly instalments of at least Rs. 50 and the Punjab P. C. C. be asked to pay a larger sum whenever possible.

(iii) Resolved that the Tamil Nad P. C. C. be again requested to pay at an early date Rs. 3,335-4-10 due from them on account of the Tilak Swaraj Fund quota.

3. RESIGNATIONS FROM THE A. I. C. C.

Read the letters of resignation from the following members of the A. I. C. C. in answer to the General Secretary's letter calling upon them to resign their seats in the Congress elective bodies in view of their non-acceptance of the Congress resolution regarding legislatures:

Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, M. S. Aney, S. C. Mitra, G. Harisarvottama Rau, B. Das, Bishwanath Das, N. C. Bardoloi, Khaliquzzaman, Godavaris Misra and M. P. Kolhe.

Resolved that the resignations be accepted. The Working Committee appreciates the spirit in which those who have not accepted the correctness of the Congress resolution have complied with the request of the Working Committee.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS TO A. I. C. C.

The Committee recommended to the A. I. C. C., resolutions on civil disobedience, vacancies in the Working Committee, American Branch of the Congress and election to the Working Committee, which were subsequently adopted by the A. I. C. C. (Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 6) with a slight change in No. 2.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE—1930

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

Ahmedabad, March 21, 1930

The Committee met at 2 p.m. on March 21, 1930, in Ahmedabad, Jawaharlal Nehru presiding.

The following resolutions were passed:

1. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. approves of and endorses the resolution of the Working Committee dated February 16, authorising Mahatma Gandhi to initiate and control civil disobedience and congratulates him and his companions and the country on the march begun by him on the 12th instant in pursuit of his plan for civil disobedience. The Committee hopes that the whole country will respond to the action taken by Gandhiji so as to bring the campaign for Purna Swaraj to a speedy and successful issue.

The A. I. C. C. hereby authorises the P. C. Cs. subject to any directions that the Working Committee might issue from time to time, to organise and undertake such civil disobedience as to them may seem proper and in the manner that may appear to them to be most suitable. The Committee however hopes that the provinces, so far as is possible, will concentrate on a civil breach of the salt laws. The Committee trusts that while full preparation will be carried on in spite of any government interference, civil disobedience will not be started till Gandhiji has reached his destination and has actually committed a breach of the salt laws and given the word. In the event however of Gandhiji's earlier arrest the provinces shall have full liberty to start civil disobedience.

The A. I. C. C. congratulates Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta on their arrest and notes with satisfaction that these arrests instead of weakening have strengthened the national resolve to reach the goal without any delay.

The Committee records its appreciation of the example

set by the village officials of Gujarat, who have resigned from government service in order to help in the national campaign.

2. VACANCIES IN THE WORKING COMMITTEE

In view of possible vacancies in the Congress Working Committee arising out of governmental action and in case normal procedure cannot be followed, resolved that the following procedure be adopted:

(i) The President may nominate his successor and the president for the time being shall have powers to fill up all vacancies in the Working Committee by his own nomination.

(ii) The Working Treasurer shall have the power to nominate his own successor in case of a similar emergency.

3. AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE CONGRESS

In view of the fact that the American Branch of the Indian National Congress has consistently refused to supply information about its manner of formation, membership etc., in spite of repeated requests and because it appears to this committee on reliable authority that the office-bearers of the branch carry on public propaganda against the declared policy of the Congress and directly contrary to the Congress creed and methods, this committee disaffiliates the American Branch.

4. BUDGET FOR 1929-30

The following budget estimates for 1929-30 were adopted:

<i>Income</i>	Rs.
Provincial contributions	6,450
Affiliation fees of Congress Committees in foreign countries	675
Congress delegation fees	10,536
Percentage of income from members	1,000
A. I. C. C. members' subscriptions	2,740
Donations	1,500
Miscellaneous	300
Interest	2,000
TOTAL	25,201

<i>Expenditure</i>	Rs.
A. I. C. C. Office	14,450
A. I. C. C. Treasurers' Office	750
Congress Labour Research Department	2,000
Travelling expenses of Working Committee members (excluding secretary)	1,500
Grants to Sub-committees appointed by Working Committee	15,000
Other grants in India	3,000
Grants in foreign countries	1,500
Berlin Information Bureau	5,000
Touring expenses of Working Committee members	2,000
TOTAL	45,200

5. ELECTION TO WORKING COMMITTEE

Resolved that Shri Rajendra Prasad be elected a member of the Working Committee in place of Shri Vallabhbhai Patel for the period of the latter's imprisonment.

NOTE

DANDI MARCH

Mahatma Gandhi began his march to the sea from Ahmedabad on March 12, 1930 in pursuit of his plan for civil disobedience. He reached Dandi by the sea side with his companions at the beginning of April and on April 6th inaugurated the Salt Satyagraha campaign at Dandi. Soon after, the campaign spread all over the country. The President of the A. I. C. C. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested for disobedience of the Salt laws at Allahabad on April 14th and many other arrests took place. After the President's arrest, Pandit Motilal Nehru became the acting President. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested in May.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Allahabad, May 12-15, 1930

The Committee met at Anand Bhawan, Allahabad on May 12, 13, 14 and 15, 1930. The members who attended one or more meetings were: Pandit Motilal Nehru (in the chair), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, Shri Shivaprasad Gupta, Shri Purshottam Das Tandon, Shri Mathuradas Tricumjee, Shri K. F. Nariman, Dr. B. C. Roy and Syed Mahmud.

1. ACCOUNTS AND REPORTS

The following accounts and reports were placed before the Committee:—

A. I. C. C. Office accounts for March and April 1930.

Treasurer's accounts for March 1930.

Berlin Information Bureau's accounts for February and March 1930.

2. LOAN TO MR. TENDULKAR

The Committee sanctioned the loan of Rs. 600 already paid to Mr. Tendulkar.

3. CLOSING OF ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

Having regard to the altered dates of the Congress, the Committee decided that in future the annual accounts of P. C. Cs. and D. C. Cs. be closed on December 31.

4. A. I. C. C. ELECTIONS

Having regard to the altered dates of the Congress, the annual elections to the All India Congress Committee referred to in Art. XIX of the Constitution shall in future be held in January instead of in November.

5. FILLING OF VACANCIES

The President's nomination of Pandit Motilal Nehru as acting President, the Treasurer's nomination of Mr. Mathura-

das Tricumjee as acting Treasurer and the acting President's nomination of the following members of the Working Committee were confirmed:

Shri K. F. Nariman in place of Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya; Dr. B. C. Roy in place of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta; Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri in place of Dr. Satyapal; Shri Purshottamdas Tandon in place of Shri C. Rajagopalachari;

Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani in place of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Shri Abbas S. Tyabji in place of Shri M. K. Gandhi.

6. DHARSANA SALT DEPOT

The Working Committee sends through Mrs. Sarojini Naidu its cordial greetings to Mahatma Gandhi's brave Satyagrahis at camp Karadi. It has heard with satisfaction the news of the determined resistance put up by their first batch under the leadership of Mr. Abbas Tyabji while being prevented by the authorities from marching on the salt depot at Dharsana and congratulates them on their arrest. The Working Committee trusts that Mahatma Gandhi's expectation that fresh batches of Satyagrahis will take up the raid one after the other will be fully realised and that sufficient number of volunteers will be forthcoming from all parts of the country to carry on the good fight.

The Working Committee recommends that Dharsana be henceforth treated as the All India centre for salt raid until further instructions.

7. MAHATMA GANDHI AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Working Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the lead given by Mahatma Gandhi and his incomparable generalship in the conduct of the great campaign of civil disobedience inaugurated and carried on by him up to the moment of his arrest. It congratulates him, his brave satyagrahis and the country on the phenomenal success of the movement throughout the country resulting in the universal defiance of the salt laws. The Committee reiterates its abiding faith in civil disobedience and resolves to carry on the struggle during the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi with redoubled

vigour. In the opinion of the Committee the moment has arrived when the entire nation should make a supreme effort to achieve the goal and the Committee calls upon students, lawyers and other professional men, the workers and peasants, merchants, industrialists and government servants and all others to contribute to the success of the fight for freedom by making all the sacrifices they are capable of.

8. PRESIDENT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Working Committee highly appreciates the invaluable services rendered by the President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to the Congress and the nation by his untiring work and courageous leadership and congratulates him on the unprecedented and unique honour he has achieved of compelling the Government to arrest him while in office.

9. WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND OTHERS

This Committee congratulates those members of the Working Committee, the A. I. C. C., and the Congress who have been arrested and convicted in the discharge of their patriotic work in the service of the country.

10. FOREIGN CLOTH PICKETING

After giving full consideration to the different aspects of the question of boycott of foreign cloth and to the representations of foreign cloth dealers this Committee is of opinion that in the interest of the country it is essential to carry out a complete boycott of foreign cloth throughout the country without delay and for that purpose to take affective steps to prevent sales of existing stock, secure cancellation of orders already placed and prevent the placing of future orders.

This Committee therefore calls upon all Congress bodies to carry on intensive propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth and to organise the picketing of shops dealing in foreign cloth.

This Committee while appreciating the efforts of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to help the boycott movement regrets that it cannot endorse any agreement or understanding

with the dealers whereby their shops are not to be picketed and the sale of existing stock is to be permitted in return for promises made by them not to import or order foreign cloth for specified periods.

This Committee directs all Congress organisations to be no party to any such or similar agreements or understandings with dealers or importers of foreign cloth.

11. KHADDAR PRODUCTION

For the purpose of carrying out a complete boycott of foreign cloth it is necessary to increase the production of handspun and handwoven cloth (khadi) in order to meet the growing demand. To achieve this object this Committee suggests to the All India Spinners' Association and other organisations engaged in the production and sale of khaddar to introduce a system of exchanging khaddar cloth for hand-spun yarn in addition to that of sales for money and calls upon Congress organisations generally to encourage hand-spinning. The Committee also appeals to every individual to devote some part of his or her time to spinning and present at least one pound of handspun yarn, not necessarily selfspun, to the nearest Congress Committee or Branch of the A. I. S. A. as a token of his or her practical sympathy for the movement of boycott of foreign cloth.

12. NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES

This Committee is of opinion that the time has arrived for the inauguration of a no-tax campaign by non-payment of specified taxes in certain provinces and is further of opinion that a beginning should be made by non-payment of the land tax in provinces where the ryotwari system prevails such as Gujrat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra, Tamil Nad and the Punjab and by the non-payment of the Chowkidari tax in provinces where it is levied such as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It therefore calls upon such provinces to organise campaigns for non-payment of land tax or the Chowkidari tax as the case may be in areas to be selected by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned. The Committee warns the tax-payers of areas not selected by the Provincial Congress Committee against embarking on a campaign of non-payment of land

revenue or chowkidari tax as such action is likely to interfere seriously with the conduct of the general campaign of civil disobedience.

13. SALT SATYAGRAHA

The Committee calls upon Provincial Committees to take steps to continue and extend the manufacture of contraband salt for sale or consumption wherever possible and directs that technical breaches of the Salt Laws shall be continued with redoubled energy in places where they are sought to be prevented by the Government by arrests or otherwise. The Committee resolves that to mark the country's disapproval of the Salt Laws Congress organisations all over the country should organise public breaches of those laws on every Sunday.

14. FOREST GRAZING

The Committee approves and confirms the action of the acting President in permitting the breach of Forest Laws so far as they affect grazing in the C. P. and resolves that other provinces where similar laws are in force may organise the breach of such laws with the sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee.

15. SWADESHI MILL CLOTH

The Committee authorises the Acting President to enter into negotiations with the Indian Mill-owners with a view to devise means to prevent unfair increase in the prices of Swadeshi Mill-cloth and the manufacture of spurious khaddar and generally to take steps to promote the boycott of foreign cloth.

16. BRITISH GOODS BOYCOTT

This Committee invites the attention of the country to the resolution adopted by the Congress at Madras in 1927 and at Calcutta in 1928 relating to the boycott of British Goods and urges the people to make earnest attempts to bring about an effective boycott thereof at an early date. The Committee further appeals strongly to the public to boycott

all British Banking, Insurance, Shipping and similar other institutions.

17. LIQUOR PICKETING

This Committee once again emphasises the necessity of carrying on an intensive propaganda in favour of total prohibition and calls upon Provincial Congress Committees to organise picketing of liquor and toddy shops within their jurisdiction.

18. ASSAULTS ON WOMEN

This Committee records its gratification at the generous response which has been made by women to the call of freedom in all parts of the country, particularly in Bombay and Delhi. This Committee expresses its indignation at the brutal assaults made on women by the police and the military in Delhi, Agra, Contai and other places. The Committee assures the women of India that their brave sufferings are bound to hasten the advent of Swaraj.

19. NON-VIOLENCE

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction the general observance of non-violence in the prosecution of the campaign of civil disobedience even under grave and sudden provocation and congratulates the country on this achievement. It regrets that outbreaks of mob violence have occurred in certain places and cannot too strongly condemn such violence. Believing as it does that such cases of violence have mostly occurred under grave and sudden provocation given by the officials, the Committee desires to emphasise the necessity of strict observance of non-violence even under such provocation.

20. PRESS ORDINANCE

This Committee strongly condemns the Press Ordinance recently issued by the Governor-General as an outrage on civilisation and appreciates the action of those newspapers which have refused to submit to the lawless provisions of

that ordinance. It calls upon the Indian newspapers which have not yet ceased publication or having ceased publication have reappeared, to stop further issues. It also calls upon the people to boycott all Anglo-Indian and Indian papers which continue publication hereafter.

21. PESHAWAR INQUIRY

The Working Committee endorses the order of the Acting President appointing the Peshawar Enquiry Committee consisting of Mr. V. J. Patel as Chairman and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Lala Duni Chand of Lahore and Dr. Syed Mahmud with power to coopt to enquire into and report on the happenings at Peshawar on April 23, the events preceding and following those happenings constituting the causes and effects of those happenings and such other matters connected therewith as may arise in the course of the enquiry.

The Committee having read and considered the reply of the Chief Commissioner N. W. F. Province to the communication addressed by the Acting President prohibiting the entry of the Chairman and members of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee into the Frontier Province, requests the Chairman to select such other place outside the Frontier Province as he may consider proper for the purpose of enquiry.

The Committee has also considered the question of the relative importance of the presence of the Chairman and the members of the Committee in other parts of the country and of the Chairman in particular in Gujrat and Bombay, but is of opinion that it is absolutely necessary that the enquiry should commence without any avoidable delay and requests the Chairman and the members to fix the date and venue of enquiry forthwith.

22. CONGRESS COMMITTEES UNLAWFUL

This Committee is not aware of the reasons why the Congress Committees in the N. W. F. Province have been declared unlawful but it is definitely of opinion that having regard to the principle of non-violence on which the whole Congress organisation is based no Congress Committee as such

should have been declared unlawful. The Committee therefore hopes that the Congress Committees in the N. W. F. Province will continue to function notwithstanding the Government declaration.

23. DELHI SHOOTING

This Committee believes in the substantial accuracy of the account given in the communique issued by the Delhi D. C. C. of the occurrences of May 6 in that city and condemns the shooting of peaceful citizens by the police. It deeply sympathises with the feelings of the Sikh community on the outrage perpetrated by the police in shooting at the Gurdwara Sis Ganj in Delhi.

24. SHOLAPUR MARTIAL LAW

This Committee deplores the tragic incidents at Sholapur and has learnt with horror and indignation the promulgation of Martial Law in that city. It extends its sympathies to the sufferers and trusts that the citizens will not deviate from the path of non-violence and will not be terrorised by militarism or other forms of repression. The Committee hopes that Maharashtra P. C. C. will find it possible in due course to institute a full and complete enquiry into the matter and will also take immediate steps to organise relief for the citizens.

25. AMBULANCE WORKERS ASSAULTED

This Committee strongly condemns the cowardly assaults on ambulance workers and the immoral and barbarous destruction by the officials of medical appliances, stretchers and medicines intended to be used for relieving the sufferings of those assaulted at Kalikapur and Neela in Bengal.

26. POWERS OF ACTING PRESIDENTS

Having regard to the increasing difficulty in holding meetings of this Committee caused by the repressive policy of the Government this Committee delegates to the Acting President all the powers of the Committee under the constitution and the resolutions of the Congress and the A. I. C. C.

to deal with urgent matters in connection with the campaign as they arise if in his opinion it becomes impossible or difficult to call a meeting of this Committee by the action of the Government or it is undesirable to call such meetings with due regard to the exigencies of the campaign.

Provided that the Acting President for the time being shall have the right to nominate his own successor and the successor so nominated shall have all the powers of the President.

27. TREASURERS

Resolved that Shri Mathuradas Tricumji, Acting Working Treasurer and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta, Treasurer, be empowered to operate on the accounts already opened in the banks in the name of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund either jointly or severally and further Shri Mathuradas Tricumjee and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta are hereby empowered to appoint an attorney or attorneys either jointly or severally from time to time who shall either jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund accounts as are hereby granted to the said Shri Mathuradas Tricumji and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta. Provided however that the devolution of any of the said powers does not absolve the Treasurers from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

28. SWARAJ BHAWAN

This Committee places on record its grateful thanks to Pandit Motilal Nehru for his gift to the nation of his fine house Anand Bhawan (now named Swaraj Bhawan) which is associated with memories of many campaigns in India's fight for freedom.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Allahabad, June 4-7, 1930

The Working Committee passed the following resolutions at its sittings held on 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th June 1930 at

Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, with Pandit Motilal Nehru, Acting President of the Congress, in the chair:

1. SPIRIT OF NON-VIOLENCE

On a careful survey of the progress of events in all parts of the country since its last meeting, this Committee puts on record its thankful appreciation of the general spirit of non-violence, the cool courage and patient endurance of suffering displayed by the people under the grave provocation of cruel and unwarranted firings and brutal lathi assaults by the military and the police. The Committee congratulates the country on this great achievement and warns the Government that no end of lawlessness committed in the name of law and order will deflect the people of India from their firm determination to win Swaraj at all costs.

2. REPRESSIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Whereas the Government has indulged in a regular orgy of relentless repression to stifle the satyagraha movement and has established a reign of terror throughout the country by actively encouraging or conniving at open acts of lawlessness and violence committed on the people by the very officials charged with the maintenance of law and order.

And whereas the following among other unlawful acts have been committed in pursuance of this policy, that is to say (1) cruel and indiscriminate beating of unarmed and unresisting men, women and children by, in the presence and under the orders of responsible British and Indian officers in many towns and places in the country, (2) indecent assaults on men and women and hitting them on their private parts, (3) shooting without any justification, (4) inhuman treatment of the wounded and obstructing the private Red Cross and ambulance work, (5) arrests and convictions on false charges, (6) uncalled for application of Martial Law, (7) unlawful introduction of Martial Law conditions without the formal application of Martial Law, (8) misuse of Section 144 of the Cr. P. C. and other provisions of the law, (9) Trespasses on private property and forcible ejection of lawful occupiers, (10) suppression of authentic news and the issue

of false and misleading communiqües and (11) fomenting Hindu-Muslim differences.

And whereas the Governor-General has recently promulgated three ordinances, namely the Press Ordinance, the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance and the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the first of which has killed free and independent nationalist journalism and the last two have made it criminal to organise the peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, the social boycott of Government officers participating in various kinds of excesses and to carry on propaganda for non-payment of taxes not voted by the representatives of the people.

And whereas the statements issued by the Governor-General justifying these ordinances contain allegations which are contrary to facts showing that the Governor-General is either kept in complete ignorance of the actual happenings in the country or is intentionally ignoring them.

Now therefore this Committee calls upon the country to meet the situation thus created, by publicly disobeying the three ordinances aforesaid with calm and unflinching courage and strict observance of non-violence under the gravest provocation as heretofore, and carry out fearlessly all the resolutions of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee regardless of the said ordinances.

In particular the Committee advises the people to carry on with redoubled vigour the peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, social boycott of Government officers known to have participated in unjustifiable assaults on satyagrahis and others and to extend the campaign for non-payment of land tax to parts of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nad where it has not yet been started, and also to intensify and extend the campaign of non-payment of chowkidari tax in Bengal, and start it in Bihar and Orissa.

3. DHARSANA, WADALA, CONTAI AND TUMLUK ATROCITIES

The Committee has read with horror the blood-curdling account of the barbarous atrocities committed on peaceful satyagrahis at Dharsana. The Committee notes that these

atrocities included, among others, beating satyagrahis mercilessly with lathis until they dropped down unconscious and thereafter trampling their bodies by hoofs of horses ridden by European officers, striping satyagrahis naked and thrusting sticks into their private parts, driving *babul* thorns into the body of a young lad and striking heavy blows on the scrotum.

The Committee is satisfied that the atrocities committed at Wadala, Contai and Tumluk were with slight differences of detail on a par with those perpetrated at Dharasana and were equally inhuman and unworthy of any civilized Government.

This Committee holds that high British and Indian officers of the Government are directly responsible for these inhuman acts by having permitted or failed to stop them, and warns the Government that it is only driving the iron deeper into the soul of the people whose determination cannot be shaken by the crudest forms of torture.

The Committee conveys to the satyagrahis of Dharasana, Wadala, Contai and Tumluk its heart-felt sympathy with their sufferings and its high admiration for their cool courage and patient endurance.

4. LUCKNOW ATROCITIES

Whereas a statement of the 25th May in the city of Lucknow issued by a Committee of prominent citizens with Mr. S. M. Habibullah, O.B.E., M.L.C. as Chairman, discloses the following facts:—

1. That "grievous hurt and fractures were caused to the satyagrahis who according to all correct information had in no way resisted the police and were mostly beaten while squatting or lying on the ground."

2. That "the force employed was not of the kind that should be used for dispersing such a crowd but in attacking a foreign foe with a view to destroy or physically cripple the enemy."

3. That such use of force "was not limited to the processionists or the crowd about them but was used also on members of the civil population who innocently happened to

be present in the vicinity."

4. That assaults were committed on "persons who were in the adjoining houses as spectators and these included ladies and children."

And whereas the above facts have been fully corroborated at a personal investigation on the spot by the Acting President of the A. I. C. C. and Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon, a member of the Committee.

And whereas at the said personal investigation the following further facts have been ascertained, namely:

1. That among the ladies assaulted were Mrs. Bakshi, a highly respectable lady belonging to a well-known family and Mrs. Moti Ram, wife of Dr. Moti Ram, a respectable medical practitioner.

2. That these ladies were first struck by a European sergeant named Hines and the beating was continued by the Indian police.

3. That people on the terraces and balconies of their houses were shot at and wounded by the police from the streets on the 26th May.

4. That certain shops were looted by the police.

5. That the Deputy Commissioner, the Superintendent of Police and other district officers were present on the scene and looked on these brutalities with approval and occasionally shouted Shabash to the police.

6. That at the conclusion of the orgy sweets and rewards were distributed to the police for their inhuman conduct.

This Committee puts on record its definite and considered opinion that the communique of the Commissioner of Lucknow relating to the said occurrences is wholly inaccurate and misleading and that the true facts are as stated above.

This Committee welcomes the appointment of the Oudh Bar Association Committee of Enquiry and hopes that further light will be thrown on the incidents of the 25th and 26th May by its investigation. It urges all those who have suffered from or have any knowledge of those incidents to come forward fearlessly and make their statements before that Committee.

5. WOMEN SATYAGRAHIS

This Committee offers its respectful congratulations to all the women satyagrahis who have been assaulted, ill-treated or imprisoned in the course of the present satyagraha campaign, and assures them that the national movement has been greatly strengthened by their suffering and self-sacrifice.

In particular this Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the patriotic services rendered by Srimatis Sarojini Naidu, (ex-President, Congress), Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Rukmani Lakshmi Pathi (Member, A. I. C. Committee), Satyavati Devi, Mitra, Durgabai, Kamala Devi (Member, A. I. C. C.) and Anjali Ammal.

6. DUTY OF MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES

The Committee takes this opportunity to impress upon Indians employed in the military and police forces of the Government that it is as much their duty as that of other Indians to strive for the freedom of their country and expects them to treat satyagrahis and others engaged in the achievement of that freedom as their own brethren and not as enemies. The Committee draws their attention to the fact that it is not only no part of their duty to commit cruel assaults on unarmed and unresisting people but that they are criminally liable for such assaults even though committed under orders of their superior officers.

7. DACCA INQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Working Committee deeply sympathises with the sufferers during the Dacca riots. It has received complaints making grave and serious charges against Government officials and others in connection with the said riots, but in the absence of fuller information appoints a committee consisting of Syts. N. R. Sarkar, Rajendralal Ray, Prabhu Dayal Himatsinghka, Atul Ch. Sen, Shamsuddin Ahmad, Mujibur Rahman (Editor, the Mussalman), Ch. Ashrafuddin Ahmad and Shyamapada Mukherji, with power to co-opt. to make a full inquiry into the recent disturbances and take all necessary steps to bring about a settlement of the differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans of Dacca.

8. MUSSALMANS AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

This Committee repels the charge of apathy to the national movement levelled by Government officials and interested persons against the Mussalmans of India and notes with satisfaction the patriotic part taken by them in the movement throughout the country, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of officials and reactionaries to keep them out of it. In particular the Committee puts on record its keen appreciation of the brave stand made by the Mussalmans of the N. W. F., the Punjab and Bombay for the present satyagraha campaign carried on by the Congress.

9. JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA

This Committee welcomes the resolution of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema passed at their 9th Annual Session held at Amroha making common cause with the Congress in its campaign of civil disobedience for the attainment of complete independence and appealing to Mussalmans to strive for the liberty of their country and religion by joining the Congress wholeheartedly in the fight for freedom. This Committee reiterates the resolution passed at the Lahore session of the Congress that no solution of communal questions will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the Mussalmans and other minorities and assures the Jamiat and Mussalmans in general that the Congress will at all times respect the liberty of all religions and cultures in India and appeals to Mussalmans to cast off all doubts and misgivings created in the minds of some in that respect by interested persons. The Committee trusts that Hindus and Mussalmans fighting shoulder to shoulder will establish a spirit of comradeship which will be an effective safeguard against all communal differences.

10. NEWSPAPERS

This Committee has considered the representation made by Pandit Rama Shankar Avasthi, proprietor and Editor of the daily "Vartman" of Cawnpore asking for permission to resume publication on his giving the following undertaking to be published in the first number of the resumed issue:—

(Translation of extract from Hindi letter)

"I shall with pleasure take this risk (i.e. of breaking the Press Ordinance) on the Vartman Press and the "Vartman" newspaper. I shall write leading articles and notes in defiance of the Ordinance. I shall in breach of the Ordinance publish the notices and circulars of the Congress and shall not take into the least consideration the likelihood that by so doing the Government might demand security or confiscate the press. I shall also by means of leading articles disseminate the views of the Congress as contained in its orders the mere publishing of which would be tantamount to breaking the ordinance. I shall in the very first issue clearly announce this policy and shall continue to publish the "Vartman" so long as the Government does not carry away the machinery and other articles of the press."

(a) The Committee is of opinion that this undertaking satisfies the spirit of the resolution on Press Ordinance passed by the Working Committee on 14th May 1930 as explained in the Acting President's circular No. 43 and its Supplement and accordingly resolves that the "Vartman" and any other paper that suspended publication without being called upon to furnish security and are prepared to resume publication on the same terms may be permitted to do so on publishing similar undertaking in the first issue of the resumed publication and sending a copy to this office.

(b) The Committee has also considered the representation of the Delhi Journalists Association asking for the removal of the ban imposed by this Committee on the publication of newspapers, but is of opinion that such removal will not be conducive to independent journalism and is therefore not prepared to accord the sanction asked for.

(c) In view of the new fields of activity opened up by the recent action of the Government the Committee resolves that it is no longer necessary to picket newspapers and leaves it to the good sense of the Press and the public to give effect to the resolution of this Committee.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Allahabad, June 27, 1930

The All India Working Committee met at Allahabad on the 27th June. The following resolutions were adopted by the Committee:

1. ARRANGEMENT WITH MILL-OWNERS

(a) This Committee confirms the arrangement reached by the Acting President with the Ahmedabad mill-owners whereby the said mill-owners have agreed to take effective steps to prevent the production of cloth which can be mistaken for Khadi and to provide for shortage of Khadi by making available to the consumer Swadeshi cloth made of Indian yarn manufactured by themselves or other Indian owned and Indian managed mills up to the end of October 1930 at prices not exceeding those that prevailed on or about the 12th March 1930 in case the market prices rise higher during the interval.

(b) The Committee authorises the Acting President to represent the Congress on the Joint Board to be constituted under the said arrangement.

(c) The Committee notes with satisfaction that some of the Bombay mill-owners have also agreed to fix prices as aforesaid for similar cloth of their manufacture and calls upon them and other mills in the country to fall into line with Ahmedabad on the other particulars agreed upon by the latter.

2. BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction the progress made in the boycott of foreign cloth in a very large number of cities, towns and villages and appreciates the patriotic spirit of the dealers who have in pursuance of the resolutions of the Committee not only stopped the sale of such cloth but have also agreed to cancel orders already placed and refrain from placing fresh orders, thereby causing a very considerable fall in the imports of all foreign textile goods. The Committee calls upon the dealers in foreign cloth in places

where they have not yet stopped the sale of such cloth to stop such sales forthwith, and on their failure to do so directs the Congress organisations concerned to enforce strict and vigorous picketing of the shops of such dealers. The Committee expects the sales of foreign cloth will be stopped everywhere in India before the 15th July 1930 and calls upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make a full report on that day. Congress organisations are hereby reminded that under Resolution XV passed by this Committee on May 12-15 they are precluded from entering into or accepting any arrangement with dealers of foreign cloth permitting sale of such cloth for any period.

3. BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

The Committee calls upon all Congress organisations and the country at large to take more rigorous steps to bring about a complete boycott of British goods generally than have so far been taken by giving preference to goods of non-British manufacture wherever similar Swadeshi goods are not available.

4. SOCIAL BOYCOTT

This Committee calls upon the people to organise and enforce a strict social boycott of all Government officials and others known to have participated directly or indirectly in the atrocities committed upon the people to stifle the national movement.

5. REPUDIATION OF DEBT

The Working Committee calls attention to the resolutions of the Indian National Congress passed at Gaya in 1922 and at Lahore in 1929 whereby the Congress repudiated the financial burdens and obligations directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration except such burdens and obligations as are adjudged to be just by an independent tribunal and advises the Indian public not to buy or accept any fresh bonds of the Government of India whether as new investment or in conversion of their existing holdings of the same or similar bonds.

6. INSISTENCE ON PAYMENT IN GOLD

Whereas the present legal tender value in exchange of the silver rupee in India has been fixed arbitrarily by the British Government in the teeth of strong public opposition while the intrinsic value of the rupee is not even a third of the legal tender value so fixed, and whereas there is imminent likelihood of further depreciation of the value of the rupee, the Working Committee strongly advises the people of India not to accept rupees or currency notes in payment of any claims against the Government but to insist on payment in gold wherever possible. The Committee further advises the people to take the earliest opportunity to convert all their currency holdings of rupees or notes into gold and particularly to insist on all payments for their exports to be made in gold only.

7. APPEAL TO STUDENTS

In the opinion of this Committee the time has arrived when students of Indian colleges should take their full share in the movement for national freedom and directs all provincial Committees to call upon such students within their respective jurisdiction to place their services at the disposal of the Congress in such manner and to such extent including complete suspension of their studies as the exigencies of the national movement may require. The Committee trusts that all students will readily respond to such call.

8. COMMITTEES DECLARED ILLEGAL

Whereas in pursuance of the policy of repression the Government has declared a certain number of Provincial and District Congress Committees and other subordinate and allied organisations as unlawful Associations, and whereas it is likely that other Congress Committees and organisations may be similarly declared unlawful Associations in the near future, this Committee directs the Committees and organisations affected by those declarations, and those that may hereafter be similarly affected, to continue to function as before, and carry out the Congress programme notwithstanding such declarations.

9. DUTY OF MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES

This Committee notes the amazing declaration of the U. P. Governor-in-Council forfeiting copies of Resolution No. 6 of this Committee about the duty of military and police forces passed at its meeting held on the 7th June. The Committee maintains that the use of the military and the police by the Government as their tools for perpetrating shocking atrocities on the people would have fully justified it in passing a much stronger resolution but for the present it was considered sufficient to pass the resolution as it stands containing as it does merely an accurate statement of the existing law on the subject, the Committee calls upon all Congress organizations to give the widest publicity to the said resolution in spite of the said declaration.

10. RELENTLESS REPRESSION

Whereas the Government has since the last meeting of this Committee continued its headlong career of relentless repression to stifle the Satyagraha movement and has to that end permitted acts of increasing cruelty and brutality to be committed by its servants and agents and whereas in addition to the unlawful acts mentioned in Resolution No. 2 passed by this Committee on the 7th June the Government officials have committed the following among other cruelties namely* .

This Committee congratulates the country on the splendid stand made by the people against the atrocities committed by the officials and reiterates its warning to the Government that the people of India will continue their fight for freedom to the bitter end in spite of all conceivable tortures inflicted on them.

11. MARTIAL LAW IN SHOLAPUR

The Committee is amazed at the incredible statement made in the communique of the Bombay Government that prominent people of Sholapur have requested the Government to continue the operation of Martial Law until the Ekadashi

*Owing to the sudden arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru details of the atrocities could not be included in the resolution.

fair held at Pandharpur 45 miles from Sholapur. The Committee is in possession of reliable information that the people of Sholapur have always believed that there was no justification for the introduction of Martial Law and have all along been strongly opposed to its continuance. The Committee puts on record its considered opinion that even on the Bombay Government's own showing there was no justification for the continuance of Martial Law so long, and that there is now not even a shadow of pretence to keep it in force any longer. The Committee is convinced that the sole object of continuing it is to crush the spirit of a long-suffering people.

12. CONGRATULATIONS TO WOMEN

The Committee notes with grateful appreciation that the women of India are continuing to take an increasing part in the national movement and bravely suffering assaults, ill-treatment and imprisonment. In particular the Committee offers its respectful congratulations to Shrimati Urmila Devi, President of the Nari Satyagraha Sangha of Calcutta, and her colleagues and other ladies in all parts of the country who have been arrested and imprisoned for the patriotic services they rendered in picketing and other Congress work.

13. KUMAR SAHEBS OF KALAKANKER AND MANEKAPUR

The Working Committee puts on record its high appreciation of the patriotic action taken by Kunwar Suresh Singh of Kalakankar and Kunwar Saheb of Manekapur in breaking the order of the Magistrate of Lucknow for which they have been convicted and sentenced. The Committee appeals to the other scions of the families of Taluqdars of Oudh and other landed magnates in India to follow their noble example and take open part in the national movement regardless of consequences.

14. ARRESTS OF WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The Committee congratulates Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, Shri Shivaprasad Gupta, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshvar and M. Krishna Rao, members of this Committee, on their arrest and conviction for their patriotic activities in carrying on the campaign of civil disobedience.

15. CONDOLENCE

This Committee expresses its deep grief at the death of Seth Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri who was Hon. Treasurer of the Congress for a number of years, and places on record its gratitude for the many services he rendered to the Congress and the Nation.

This Committee conveys its respectful condolences to the members of his bereaved family.

16. ALTERATIONS IN ELECTION RULES

This Committee invites the attention of the Provincial Congress Committees to Resolution V of the Lahore Congress relating to the dates of annual sessions of the Congress, and to Resolution 6 of the Working Committee dated 15th May 1930 fixing the annual elections to the A. I. C. C. for January, and requests the Provincial Congress Committees to modify, in accordance therewith, their rules governing the elections to Provincial Congress Committees, and to their subordinate Committees.

In view however of the fact that meetings of Provincial Congress Committees are in the existing conditions difficult, if not impossible, of holding, this Committee authorizes the Executive Committees of Provincial Congress Committees to make the necessary alterations in the rules regarding elections.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Bombay, July 30, 31 and August 1

The Working Committee met at Shri Ram Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay on the 30th and 31st July and 1st August 1930, under the Chairmanship of the Acting President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

The Committee adopted the following Resolutions:—

1. FUTURE PROGRAMME

(a) Having reviewed the progress made by the country

in regard to the various items of the programme of Civil Disobedience, the Working Committee congratulates the nation on the encouraging response, exceeding all expectations, which it has made to the call of the Congress, appreciates the remarkable manifestation of fearlessness and self-sacrifice shown by men and women, both young and old, in prosecuting the campaign for freedom, notes with gratitude the increasing participation in the present movement by all important minorities and by the Indian mercantile community and expresses its admiration of the spirit of non-violence demonstrated by the people despite numerous unprovoked assaults, lathi-charges, firings and other atrocious acts, and incarceration of about twenty-five thousand men and women. The Committee fully trusts that whatever the length of the present struggle may be, the people will keep up their attitude of organized but non-violent resistance and that their only answer to progressive repression will be increased activity and greater readiness for sacrifice in carrying out the National Programme. The Committee is confident that all sections of the population will bear up patiently under the temporary disorganisation of normal life, resulting from the acute situation created by the attitude of the Government towards the people and the policy of widespread repression and lawless violence which the Government has been pursuing and will cheerfully regard any economic loss which they may have individually to suffer as part of the price which has to be paid for securing the freedom of their Motherland. The Committee wishes to reiterate that the strict observance of non-violence by the people in spite of the greatest provocation is absolutely essential in the interests of the success of the campaign and calls upon all Congress organizations and workers to keep this vital aspect of the National Movement prominently in view and place due emphasis upon it at all times in their propaganda.

(b) The Committee directs all Congress organizations to take steps to carry out the following programme in the coming months:—

- (1) Boycott of foreign cloth.
- (2) Boycott of liquor and other intoxicants.
- (3) Boycott of Central and Provincial Legislatures.

- (4) Boycott of British Goods.
- (5) Withdrawal of deposits in Post Office Savings Bank account and Postal Cash Certificates.
- (6) Boycott of Government loans.
- (7) Boycott of Government officials.
- (8) Publication among the Police and Military of Resolution No. 6 passed by the Working Committee on 7th June 1930.
- (9) Disobedience of the various repressive ordinances.
- (10) Preparation for and inauguration and continuance of a campaign for non-payment of land revenue and/or such other Government tax as the provincial organisation may consider necessary and feasible.
- (11) Setting up, in co-operation with the mercantile community, arbitration boards for the purpose of dealing with the business disputes and the question of mutual payments.
- (12) Calling upon students of colleges to take full share in the national struggle, even by suspending studies.
- (13) Withdrawal of support to British Insurance, Banking and Shipping concerns.
- (14) Vigorous propaganda for the use of truly Swadeshi articles and support to truly Swadeshi concerns even at a sacrifice.

The Committee expects that Congress Organisations will carry out as many of the above items as local resources will permit them to do.

2. ELECTION TO LEGISLATURES

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the Lahore Congress, urging a complete boycott of the Central and Provincial legislatures, and in view of the necessity for the Nation's energy and attention being concentrated on the vigorous continuance of the present mass movement, the Working Committee earnestly appeals to all Indians to abstain from standing as candidates or voting or otherwise participating, directly or indirectly, in the forthcoming elections to the legislatures.

The Working Committee further calls upon all Congress Organizations to take, within their respective areas, all legi-

timate steps including peaceful picketing wherever necessary and feasible, with a view to dissuading intending candidates from standing for or seeking election and the voters from voting.

3. NO-TAX CAMPAIGN IN GUJARAT

The Committee congratulates the agriculturists of parts of Gujarat on the determination and spirit of sacrifice with which, in the face of most heartless repression, and consequent economic ruin, they have been prosecuting the campaign of non-payment of taxes with undiminished vigour. The Committee trusts that the Gujarat agriculturists, true to their former traditions, will unflinchingly continue the resistance to the end.

4. NON-PAYMENT OF CHAUKIDARI TAX

The Committee congratulates the people of Bihar on the inauguration of the campaign of non-payment of the Chaukidari tax and hopes that they will continue vigorously to pursue the programme, whatever the repression they may have to face and the sacrifices they may have to make.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that preparations are also afoot in parts of Bengal for the launching of a similar campaign.

5. BREACH OF FOREST LAWS

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction the launching of the movement for the breach of Forest Laws in parts of the Central Provinces, Berar, Karnatak and Maharashtra, appreciates the sacrifices of the people of these provinces and is fully confident that they will keep up the movement to the end in spite of all forms of repression.

6. FOREIGN CLOTH BOYCOTT

This Committee puts on record its appreciation of the response made by the dealers in foreign cloth to the call of the country in regard to the programme of boycott and congratulates them on the spirit of sacrifice which they have

shown in stopping further purchases, cancelling existing orders and suspending the sale of present stocks.

The Committee has very carefully considered the representations made to it by some of the dealers in foreign cloth, describing the difficulties they have had to undergo and the losses they have borne and will have to bear owing to a complete stoppage of sales and despatch of foreign cloth and while recognising the fact that, the complete boycott of foreign cloth will result in losses to them, the Committee has confidence that, in company with other sections of the Indian nation which also have had to sacrifice a great deal in the present great fight for freedom, dealers in foreign cloth will cheerfully bear the hardships caused by the situation and contribute their full share towards the success of the national struggle and continue to refrain from dealing in foreign cloth in any manner within the limits of India.

7. VISAPUR JAIL INQUIRY

The Working Committee places on record its appreciation of the services rendered by Shri Balubhai T. Desai, Dr. M. B. Vilkar, Shri Moolraj Karsondas and Shri Vithaldas Bhagwandas in making an inquiry into the treatment meted out to political prisoners in the Visapur Jail.

Having perused their Report*, this Committee most emphatically condemns the barbarous and inhuman treatment to which political prisoners in the Visapur Jail are being subjected in regard to matters relating to accommodation, food, sanitary and medical arrangements and the behaviour of warders and some of the jail officials, and regards the existence of such a jail as a blot on any administration. While strongly of the opinion that the cruel and heartless manner in which the Satyagrahi prisoners are being dealt with is calculated to terrorize and cow down the Satyagrahis, the Committee expresses its heart-felt sympathy with the sufferings which the Visapur jail prisoners are bearing up for the sake of the country's cause and feels confident that all the prisoners will brave the cruelties to which they are being subjected.

*Vide Appendix 3.

The Committee urges all Congress organisations to give the widest publicity to facts relating to the Visapur jail on the occasion of the Political Prisoners Day with a view to exposing the barbarities perpetrated in that jail.

8. POLITICAL PRISONERS DAY

This Committee strongly condemns the invidious distinctions on which the present classification of political prisoners is based and the consequent harsh treatment meted out to almost all political workers now in jail, who are being confined at night within closed doors during all seasons of the year, offered unwholesome food and denied minimum amenities of human life. This Committee, however, places on record its high appreciation of the willing and cheerful manner in which the political prisoners are bearing up under the hardships imposed on them during their incarceration and appoints Sunday, the 10th of August as the Political Prisoners Day, for the purpose of an all India demonstration of sympathy with the sufferings of the political prisoners. The Committee recommends that on that day all the workers and volunteers and the people at large should observe fast and the Congress Committees should organise processions and hold public meetings at which the ill-treatment of political prisoners should be strongly condemned.

9. PREVIOUS DECISIONS REAFFIRMED

The Working Committee reaffirms the resolutions passed at its earlier meetings (1) drawing the attention of Indians employed in the military and police forces of the Government to the fact that it is not only no part of their duty to commit cruel assaults on unarmed and unresisting people, but that they are criminally liable for such assaults even though committed under orders of their superior officers; (2) condemning the issue of repressive ordinances by the Viceroy and calling upon the people to disobey them; (3) calling upon the people to organize and enforce a strict social boycott of all Government officials and others known to have participated directly or indirectly in the atrocities committed upon the people to stifle the national movement; (4) advising the Indian public not to buy or accept any fresh bonds of the Government of

India and (5) directing Congress Committees and allied organisations to continue to function as before, in spite of being declared unlawful associations. And the Committee calls upon all Congress Committees and other organisations concerned to continue to give the widest publicity to the above resolutions and take steps to put them into execution.

10. WOMEN AND THE MOVEMENT

The Working Committee places on record its grateful tribute to the women of India for the noble part they are progressively playing in the present struggle for national freedom and the readiness they have increasingly shown to brave assaults, abuses, lathi-charges and imprisonments while carrying on the Congress work. In particular, the Committee congratulates Deshbandhavi Subbamma, Mrs. Perin Captain, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Mrs. Lukmani, Mrs. Hasan Imam and others on their contribution to the national movement and on their arrest and conviction for the country's cause.

11. PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU AND DR. SYED MAHMUD

The Committee places on record its high appreciation of the great services rendered to the country by Pandit Motilal Nehru and warmly congratulates him and Dr. Syed Mahmud on the special privilege earned by them of having been arrested and sentenced to imprisonment as Acting President and General Secretary respectively of the Congress Working Committee, in consequence of its being declared an unlawful association.

12. BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD AND PANDIT SUNDERLAL

This Committee puts on record its high appreciation of the patriotic services rendered to the national cause by Shri Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Sunderlal, two of its members, and congratulates them on their incarceration for the part they played in the Satyagraha movement in their respective provinces.

13. PESHAWAR INQUIRY REPORT

The Act. President explained the circumstances under

which the non-official Peshawar Inquiry Report was not available for discussion by the Working Committee and he hoped that the Committee would deal with the recommendations made in the report as soon as it was printed and made available.

The Committee confirmed the advance of Rs. 1,500 made by the Acting President to Mr. R. S. Pandit, the Secretary of the Inquiry Committee, for printing the report.

The Working Committee resolved that the papers relating to the contract entered into by the Secretary of the Inquiry Committee with the Managing Editor, Indian Daily Mail, shall be referred to a lawyer for such action as he may advise.

14. GANDHI CAP

This Committee congratulates all those who have disobeyed the magisterial ban on Gandhi Cap and gone to jail and trusts that the people of Andhra will continue to resist the absurd order prohibiting the wearing of Gandhi cap in Guntur.

15. SHRI M. S. ANEY

This Committee congratulates Shri M. S. Aney on the patriotic example set by him in offering Satyagraha and embracing the hardships and sufferings of jail life, notwithstanding his original differences with the Congress in regard to its programme. The Committee trusts that all those who have so far held aloof from the campaign will follow his example and take their proper share in the great national fight that is now in progress.

WORKING COMMITTEE

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

Delhi, August 27, 1930

The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee met at Delhi on the 27th August, 1930, Dr.

Ansari presiding. All the members except Dr. Bhagwan Das of Benares viz. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel, Mrs. Kamala Nehru, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Mr. Mathooradas Tricumji, Mr. Deep Narain Sinha, Mr. Duni Chand, Sardar Mangal Singh, and Chaudhury Afzal Haq attended. The Committee excluding Mrs. Kamala Nehru and Mrs. Hansa Mehta, were arrested during the course of their deliberations, but before this event took place, they had adopted the following resolutions.

CONTINUANCE OF PROGRAMME

1. The Working Committee draws the attention of all Congress organisations and of the public in general to Resolution No. 1 passed at its meeting held in Bombay on the 30th July, 1930, laying down the programme of work for the liberation of the motherland, and calls upon Congress organisations to carry out the said resolution to the best of their power and trusts that the people will cooperate with the Congress to the fullest extent in doing so.

DUTIES OF INDIAN POLICE AND MILITARY

2. The Working Committee reaffirms its Resolution No. 9 adopted at its meeting held at Bombay on the 30th July which runs as follows:—

"The Working Committee reaffirms the resolutions passed at its earlier meetings; (1) Drawing the attention of the Indians employed in the military and police forces of the Government to the fact that it is not only no part of their duty to commit cruel assaults on unarmed and unresisting people but that they are criminally liable for such assaults even though committed under orders of their superior officers; (2) condemning the issue of repressive Ordinances by the Viceroy and calling upon the people to disobey them; (3) calling upon the people to organise and enforce a strict social boycott of all Government officials and others known to have participated directly or indirectly in the atrocities committed upon the people to stifle the national movement; (4) Advising the Indian public not to buy or accept any fresh Bonds of the Government of India and; (5) Directing Congress

Committees and allied organisations to continue to function as before; in spite of being declared unlawful associations. And the Committee calls upon all Congress Committees and other organisations concerned to continue to give the widest publicity to the above resolutions and to take steps to put them into execution.

PESHAWAR INQUIRY

3. (a) The Working Committee conveys its thanks to the chairman and members of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee appointed by the Acting President of the Congress and subsequently confirmed by this Committee at its meeting held at Allahabad on the 14th May, 1930, for the industry and care with which they have collected the evidence and produced their report on the deplorable occurrences in Peshawar and neighbouring districts in April and May last, in spite of the order of the local Government prohibiting the Committee from entering the Frontier Province for the purpose of the enquiry and the hindrances placed thereby in their way.

(b) The Committee has also considered the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Suleiman Committee. The Committee cannot accept its findings as correct, as they are based on practically one sided evidence.

(c) The Committee expresses its concurrence with the following conclusions and findings of the Patel Committee which considered the evidence given before it as well as the evidence given before the Suleiman Committee as published in the public press:—

Conclusions:—

1. There was no outbreak of riot at the Kabuli Gate on the morning of the 23rd April.
2. The two leaders were not rescued by the people from the police custody.
3. The Assistant Superintendent of Police was not hurt by a stone from the crowd.
4. The people had no arms such as lathis, sticks etc.
5. The people were absolutely non-violent and were dispersing when the leaders were admitted into the Thana.

6. The Deputy Commissioner at about 10-30 a.m. on the 23rd April when the people had begun to disperse rushed with three or four armoured cars from the cantonment to the city and without warning took the people unawares with the result that the wheels of one or two armoured cars crushed about 12 to 14 persons, six or seven of whom were instantaneously killed and the remaining seriously injured.

7. Every endeavour had been made and steps taken to prevent the above incident being known to the outside public and perhaps to the higher authorities.

8. That the armoured cars were taken to the gate by the Deputy Commissioner in spite of the advice of the city magistrate who was on the spot, that the crowd was non-violent and unarmed and had begun to disperse and there was no necessity for reinforcements.

9. That the Deputy Commissioner took the armoured cars to the Kabul Gate not as a precautionary measure but deliberately to create an impression and to strike terror.

10. If the armoured cars had not been brought and rushed into the crowd regardless of consequences subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened.

11. The despatch rider was not hit or killed by any member of the crowd but was run over by one of the armoured cars after he fell down by collision.

12. The allegation that the crowd set fire to the armoured car is not true and seems to be an after-thought intended to serve as a cover for the unjustifiable firing by the authorities; and

13. The Deputy Commissioner was hit by a piece of stone thrown by some members of the crowd.

FINDINGS:—

1. In the situation that had arisen at Peshawar on the 23rd April firing by the armoured cars and the military was wholly unjustifiable.

2. Provisions of law and procedure were not only not complied with but were deliberately set at nought before orders to fire were given.

3. The Deputy Commissioner without any warning and without any justification rushed the armoured cars through the unarmed, unresisting and peaceful crowd (which had already commenced to disperse after the two leaders were admitted into the Thana) and killed and wounded twelve to fourteen persons. Had he not done so subsequent tragic events would not have happened. The responsibility for all this is entirely on the Deputy Commissioner. He created a situation by his action. Enraged at the sight of their dead and wounded brethren some irresponsible persons in the crowd picked up stray stones and threw them towards the armoured cars. One of the stones hit the Deputy Commissioner and this gave him a handle for ordering armoured cars to open fire. If the object of the Deputy Commissioner was merely to disperse the crowd he could have easily done so by other methods. But there was no desire on his part nor indeed did he make any attempt to deal with the situation in any other way. On the contrary there was a determination to use military force with a view to strike terror and this was done.

Similarly with regard to the second firing Mr. Icemonger had decided to use military force. Refusal by the people to disperse unless they were allowed to remove the dead and the wounded and unless the armoured cars and the military were withdrawn gave him a handle to order firing. If his object was merely to disperse the crowd; whether it was necessary to do so or not, he could easily have done so by other methods, but he had no desire; and indeed he made no attempts to try other methods. He resorted to firing straight off.

4. No. The object of firing was not so much to disperse the crowd as to use as much force as the authorities considered necessary to strike terror. Firing was therefore resorted to recklessly, indiscriminately and for inordinate length of time. And it was not confined merely to the Bazar, but was extended to side streets, bylanes, balconies and other places round about.

5. The number of persons actually proved to have been killed is 125, but we have no doubt that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded. Proof in respect of this larger number of killed

and wounded is impossible to secure in the conditions now obtaining in the province. Such proof as had been collected by the Congress Committee after the 29th April was seized by the military on the 4th May, since when further enquiries have been impossible owing to the continued presence of the military in the city.

6. The Committee condemns the order of the U. P. Government proscribing Patel Enquiry Report inasmuch as an order will prevent the public from knowing the truth about the tragic occurrences in Peshawar and is calculated indirectly to shield the officers who were guilty of the shocking excesses and atrocities noted by the Patel Committee.

7. The Committee tenders its deep sympathies to the relations of those who lost their lives or limbs or suffered other injuries at the hands of the police or the soldiers and offers its sincere congratulations to the people of Peshawar and other Frontier districts who have borne in a spirit of patriotism and non-violence all the repression to which they have been subjected.

And the Committee particularly offers its thanks and congratulations to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who has been the guiding spirit of this movement of non-violence in the Frontier province.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Allahabad, January 21, 1931

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress was held at Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad at 4 p.m. on the 21st January, 1931 with Shri Rajendra Prasad in the chair.

The following members were present:—

(1) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (2) Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri, (3) Shri Purshottam Das Tandon, (4) Shri K. M. Munshi, (5) Shri T. A. K. Sherwani, (6) Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, (7) Dr. Syed Mahmud—General Secretary.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was consulted by the members of the Committee during the course of their discussion.

LATE MAULANA MAHOMED ALI

It was resolved that

"The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Maulana Mahomed Ali, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress whose great courage, lofty patriotism, spirit of self-sacrifice and dynamic personality had been of great value to the Congress and the Nation.

Resolved further that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Begum Mahomed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali."

ACCOUNTS

The Acting Secretary of the A. I. C. C. then placed a financial statement (appended hereto). The monthly statements of accounts for May, September, October, November and December, 1930 were passed and the consolidated accounts for October, 1929 to May 1930 and September 1930 to December 1930 were also placed by the acting secretary and passed. In that connection it was resolved.

That in preparing the statements of accounts, amounts paid to the Congress office-bearers for expenses in connection with Congress work be entered as 'Suspense Account' and amounts paid to the members of the staff as loans be entered as 'Advances'.

The following budget was sanctioned for the year 1931:

	Rs.
1. Establishment	9,800
*2. Postage and telegrams	1,500
3. Stationery and Printing	1,500
4. Travelling Expenses	6,900
5. Rents and Taxes	900
6. Furniture	250
7. Library	200
*8. Miscellaneous	500
9. Publicity	4,100
TOTAL	25,650

N.B.—*On November 7th Working Committee sanctioned under Head (2) Rs. 2,500 and under (8) Rs. 750.

It was resolved that the sum of Rs. 4,100 for publicity be drawn from the fund with the Treasurer earmarked for Permanent Publicity Bureau.

Resolved that the advances standing against the names of Ayr Tendulkar and Jagat Narayan be written off.

The Committee considered the representation made by the N. W. F., P. C. C. for financial aid and resolved that

"A sum of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand only) be paid to the N. W. F., P. C. C. for the month of February and further instalments of Rs. 500 (rupees five hundred only) per month be paid for the succeeding six months."

Resolved that Syt. Avadhesh Nandan Sahay be confirmed in his appointment as the Acting Secretary of the All India Congress Committee.

PRIVILEGED:—

"The Committee then considered the situation arising from the declaration of Indian policy made by the British premier and resolved that:—

"The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is not prepared to give any recognition to the proceedings of the so-called Round Table Conference between certain members of the British Parliament, the Indian Princes and individual Indians selected by the Government from among its supporters and not elected as their representatives by any section of the Indian people. The Committee holds that the British Government stands self-condemned by the methods it has employed of making a show of consulting representatives of India, while as a matter of fact it has been smothering her true voice by the incarceration of the real leaders of the Nation like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, by ordinances and imprisonments and by lathi charges and firing on thousands of peaceful, unarmed and unresisting citizens engaged in the patriotic pursuit of winning freedom for their country by resorting to civil disobedience which, the Committee maintains, is a legitimate weapon in the hands of all oppressed nations.

"The Committee has carefully considered the declaration of the policy of the British Government made by Mr.

Ramsay Macdonald, the Prime Minister of England, on behalf of the cabinet on the 19th January 1931 and is of opinion that it is too vague and general to justify any change in the policy of the Congress.

"While adhering to the resolution of Independence passed at the Lahore Congress this Committee endorses the view taken by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others in their letter of the 15th August 1930 from the Yarwada Central Prison and is unable to see in the pronouncement of the policy made by the Premier an adequate response to the position taken by the signatories to the said letter. The Committee considers that in the absence of such response and while thousands of men and women including almost all the original members of the Working Committee and a great majority of the members of the All India Congress Committee are locked in jail and while the Government repression is in full swing no general enunciation of policy can be helpful in bringing to a satisfactory issue the struggle which the nation has entered upon or justify the suspension of civil disobedience. The Committee can, therefore, only advise the country to carry on the struggle with unabated vigour along the lines already laid down and trusts that it will maintain the high spirit it has shown so far.

"The Committee takes this opportunity to record its high appreciation of the courage and firmness with which the men and women and even the children of the country have faced Government persecution that is accountable for the imprisonment of about 75 thousand innocent men and women, numerous indiscriminate and brutal lathi charges, various forms of torture even of those in custody, firings resulting in the maiming and deaths of hundreds of people, looting of property, burning of houses and marching of moving columns of armed Police and sawars and British soldiers in several rural parts, depriving people of the right of public speech and association by prohibiting meetings and processions and declaring Congress and allied associations unlawful, forfeiting their movables and occupying their houses and offices.

"The Committee calls upon the country to observe the anniversary of the Independence Day which falls on the 26th

January by carrying out the programme already issued as a mark of its determination to persevere in the fight for freedom undaunted and undismayed."

The memorandum of Mr. Kenneth E. Wallace addressed to Pandit Motilal Nehru was then considered and it was resolved that

"Read the memorandum of Mr. Kenneth E. Wallace addressed to Pandit Motilal Nehru asking for certain assurances regarding the position of the Anglo-Indian community in free India. Resolved that Mr. Kenneth E. Wallace be informed that the Congress has always stood for religious and cultural liberty, equality of opportunity in the matter of education and public employment and freedom to pursue any trade or calling for all children of the motherland irrespective of whatever creed or community to which they may belong, and assures the Anglo-Indian community that a national government will guarantee these rights.

As regards the assistance of the State being given to particular communities to raise funds by taxing themselves for educational or other purposes intended for their own benefit, this Committee is of opinion that this may certainly be done provided that the purpose is not inconsistent with national policy."

Note—After the Committee had adopted the resolution on the situation created by the Premier's declaration a cablegram was received by Pandit Motilal Nehru from Messrs Shastri, Jayakar and Sapru which ran as follows:—

"Starting tomorrow meanwhile earnestly beg you postpone decision till we meet."

The Working Committee considered the cablegram and sent the following reply:—

"Your cable received after Working Committee unanimously adopted resolution on situation. In deference your wishes will not release for publication till we meet. Meanwhile Congress programme will continue to be followed."

NOTE

On the 26th January 1931 members of the Working Committee, both original and substituted, were discharged

from prison. A meeting of all these members was convened by the President Jawaharlal Nehru soon after, to be held in Allahabad. Pandit Motilal Nehru was lying seriously ill in Allahabad at the time.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Allahabad, January 31 and February 1, 1931

A meeting of the original and substituted members of the Working Committee was held at Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad on the 31st January and 1st February 1931 with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the chair.

The following members were present:

(1) Mahatma Gandhi, (2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, (3) Shri Shiva Prasad Gupta, (4) Dr. Syed Mahmud, (5) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (6) Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, (7) Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, (8) Shri C. Rajagopalachariar, (9) Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, (10) Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta, (11) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (12) Dr. Satyapal, (13) Dr. M. A. Ansari, (14) Choudhury Khaliquzzaman, (15) Babu Rajendra Prasad, (16) Shri Mathuradas Tricumji, (17) M. Syed Abdullah Brelvi, (18) Mrs. Hansa Mehta, (19) Shri Govind Malaviya, (20) Shri Mahadeo Desai, (21) Shri K. M. Munshi, (22) Shri Sunderlal, (23) Mrs. Kamala Nehru, (24) Shri Purshottamdas Tandon, (25) Shri Harkarannath Misra, (26) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (27) Dr. B. C. Roy, (28) Shri K. F. Nariman, (29) Mr. Asaf Ali, (30) Lala Duni Chand, (31) Mr. Abdul Bari, (32) Shri Mohanlal Saksena, (33) Mrs. Perrin Captain, (34) Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.

The following resolutions were adopted:—

1. "The Working Committee having, out of regard for the wishes of Syts. Sastri, Sapru and Jayakar, suspended publication of its resolution passed on 21st January, 1931, an impression has got abroad that the movement of civil disobedience has been suspended. It is therefore necessary to reiterate the decision of the Committee that the movement is to continue unabated until explicit instructions are issued to the contrary. This meeting reminds the public that

picketing of foreign cloth and drink and drug shops in itself is no part of the civil disobedience campaign, but that it is the exercise of the ordinary right of a citizen so long as it remains strictly peaceful and causes no obstruction to the public.

This meeting further reminds the sellers of foreign cloth including foreign yarn, and Congress workers that the boycott of foreign cloth being a vital necessity in the interest of the masses, is a permanent feature of national activity and will remain so till the nation has acquired the power to exclude foreign cloth and foreign yarn from India, whether by total prohibition or prohibitive tariff.

Whilst appreciating the response made by dealers in foreign cloth and foreign yarn to the appeal of the Congress to bring about a boycott of foreign cloth this meeting reminds them that it is not open to any Congress organisation to hold out hopes of their being able to dispose of their existing stock in India."

It further resolved that:

2. "In accordance with the decision of the Lahore Congress, the next annual session of the Indian National Congress will be held at Karachi in March, the exact dates to be fixed and announced by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee in consultation with the President."

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress was held at Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, on the 1st February, 1931.

The following members were present:

(1) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—In the chair, (2) Shri M. K. Gandhi, (3) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (4) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, (5) Dr. Satyapal, (6) Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, (7) Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, (8) Shri Shivaprasad Gupta, (9) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (10) Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta, (11) Shri C. Rajagopalachariar, (12) Dr. Syed Mahmud—General Secretary.

Resolved that owing to the abnormal conditions existing in the country the Working Committee, in the exercise of its extraordinary powers, hereby appoints Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as the President of the ensuing session of the Congress to be held at Karachi.

Resolved that the present A. I. C. C. do continue to function till such time as suitable arrangements can be made to hold the elections.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Allahabad, February 13, 1931

The Working Committee met at Anand Bhawan at 9 a.m. on February 13, 1931, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presiding.

CONDOLENCE

This meeting of the Working Committee places on record its deep sorrow over the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru whose counsel was a source of strength to all Congress workers, whose noble sacrifice was an inspiration to the ease-loving and whose courage was a solvent for the weakness of the weak.

This meeting conveys its respectful condolence to Shrimati Swarup Rani and the members of the family.

CONGRESS DATES

Read the telegram from Dr. Choithram, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee to the President. The following dates were fixed for the next session of the Congress at Karachi:—

March 27, 28 and 30—Subjects Committee
March 29 and 31—Open Session.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

Resolved that owing to the abnormal conditions existing in the country, the Working Committee in the exercise of its

extraordinary powers authorises the president to issue instructions regarding the election of delegates to the Karachi Congress as far as possible before the end of this month.

SWARAJ BHAWAN,

A sub-committee consisting of President Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Shri Jamnalal Bajaj was appointed to make recommendations regarding the Swaraj Bhawan.

1. At Gandhiji's request the Working Committee postpones its final decision in regard to the present situation and adjourns its proceedings to an early date to be fixed by the President. Meanwhile the movement shall continue unabated in terms of the resolution arrived at on the 1st of February 1931.

2. The Committee also considered the report of Swaraj Bhawan Sub-Committee and approved of it. It was decided that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should execute a deed of trust appointing trustees in whom the property would rest.

NOTES FOR TRUST DEED

1. (a) Deed of Trust to be executed by Jawaharlal Nehru appointing 4 or 5 trustees for life. In case of resignation or death, Working Committee to fill vacancy so caused.

(b) The Board of Management shall consist of the trustees and the President and the Working Secretary of the A. I. C. C. for the year (ex-officio).

(c) The general policy governing the Board of Management will be subject to the directions of the Working Committee.

2. Till such time till a separate fund is set apart for its maintenance, the Board of Management will apply to the Congress for the necessary funds for maintenance.

3. Pending permanent arrangements the Secretary A. I. C. C. will be the ex-officio care-taker.

4. Members of the A. I. C. C. staff if permitted to occupy any rooms for dwelling purposes shall pay rent therefor.

5. Hospital to be kept in one wing of the house and separated from the rest of the building.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Delhi, February 21, to March 6, 1931

The Working Committee met at Dr. Ansari's house, 1 Daryaganj, Delhi, from February 21st, 1931 to March 6th, 1931. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presided.

The following Resolutions were passed:

1. INSTRUCTIONS RE: PICKETING

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction the great results so far attained in the matter of the boycott of foreign cloth and drinks and drugs. It lays down the following rules and instructions for the guidance of workers and organisations.

The Working Committee warns all workers and organisations that the introduction of any element of physical compulsion will undo the great results so far achieved and expose the Congress to the charge of a denial in practice of its own professions.

The Working Committee trusts that all Congress and allied organisations and workers will strictly conform to the following rules:

1. The conduct of picketers shall be uniformly courteous towards dealers and buyers. There shall be no rudeness or bad language or rough behaviour.
2. There should be no burning of effigies of recalcitrant dealers or *hai hai's* or other unseemly cries or exhibitions.
3. There should be no cordon, amounting to physical prohibition of movement of those who may handle prohibited articles.
4. There should be no boycott of dealers or buyers amounting to deprivation of the necessities of life.

5. Greater effort should be made to enlist the services of women in the boycott campaign and as far as possible volunteers shall be drawn from the neighbourhood.
6. The campaign shall be carried on by:
 - (a) picketing singly as in batches near the shop or in the neighbourhood and warning customers against buying foreign cloth or drinks or drugs.
 - (b) waiting as often as necessary on the shopkeepers in deputation and putting the national case before them.
 - (c) distribution of leaflets showing the advantages of the boycotts to the individual as well as to the nation and giving a resume from time to time of the progress of boycott.
 - (d) processions and singing parties taken through localities from which the buying public for the particular areas are drawn.
 - (e) lectures, discourses, lantern exhibitions and the like.
 - (f) boycott committees meeting and trying to understand and remove wherever possible the difficulties of dealers.
 - (g) inducing millowners to apply their resources to induce foreign cloth dealers to come to reasonable terms.

The Working Committee is of opinion that complete boycott is possible only by sustained work in the villages through khadi and therefore exhorts all congressmen and supporters of the Congress not to relax their efforts in respect of khaddar, and to concentrate on the introduction of hand spinning and carding wherever they have not found a footing and the production and distribution of khaddar.

The Working Committee warns buyers against spurious khaddar whether manufactured in foreign or indigenous mills or woven on handlooms from mill yarn.

2. ELECTION OF DELEGATES FOR KARACHI CONGRESS

In view of the abnormal conditions that have hitherto prevailed in the country and the difficulties that may arise in the usual manner and also with a view to give every facility to the large numbers of men and women who have suffered imprisonment in the national campaign to exercise their franchise and to get elected as delegates for the Congress, the Working committee resolves that the following directions be followed in regard to these elections.

The quota of delegates allotted to each district shall be divided into two halves, one-half being elected by those who have suffered imprisonment in the civil disobedience campaign and the other half in the normal manner or where this is not possible in the manner hereinafter prescribed. In case the number allotted to the district is an odd number, the extra delegate will be allotted to the former group, that is to say those who have suffered imprisonment.

Election of delegates by those who have suffered imprisonment.—The executive of the district shall arrange for one or more meetings to be held consisting of those who have suffered imprisonment in the civil disobedience campaign for the purpose of electing the number of delegates allotted to them. It will be open to all such persons attending this meeting who otherwise comply with the qualifications for the franchise to sign the congress pledge and pay their subscription at any time before including the time of meeting. Every such meeting shall elect its own chairman who shall act as the returning officer.

Normal election.—The second half of the quota of delegates for the district shall be elected in the normal manner but in case this is not practicable the executive of the district congress organisation shall itself be authorised to elect these delegates.

If either half of the quota for the district is, for any reason not filled up in this manner, the Provincial Executive shall elect the remaining number provided that the deficiency in respect of the first half shall be made good by electing the remaining number from the released prisoners.

The quota of delegates elected directly by the provin-

cial congress committees may be elected by the executive of such committees.

Bengal—In view of the fact that certain difficulties have arisen in the course of previous elections in the province of Bengal and in order to avoid such difficulties and to provide for a speedy and final decision of all points and disputes, Mr. Aney is appointed the referee for all elections of delegates for the Congress from Bengal. Mr. Aney shall have power to supplement and amend the directions given above and to decide every dispute that may be referred to him relating to the election of delegates.

The president is authorised to issue further directions in all cases and, if necessary, to amend or alter these regulations in order to give full effect to the spirit and intention thereof.

All lists of duly elected delegates shall be prepared in triplicate, and sent to the chairman, Congress Reception Committee, Karachi, the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, Allahabad, and the provincial committees. A complete list of all such delegates should reach Allahabad on or before the 22nd March, 1931. The supplemental or other lists will be valid if received at the A. I. C. C. office in Karachi three days before the holding of the Congress.

3. PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT

The Working Committee having considered the terms of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Government of India and Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, endorses them and directs the Congress Committees to take immediate action in accordance with them. The Committee hopes that the country will carry out the terms agreed to in so far as they relate to the various congress activities and is of opinion that on a strict fulfilment of the obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress will depend the advance of India towards Purna Swaraj. (See App. 4).

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE—1931

Karachi, March 27 and 28, 1931

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

The All India Congress Committee met in the Subjects Committee tent at Harchandrai Nagar, Karachi, at 2 p.m. on March 27 and 28, 1931, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presiding on the first day and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the second day.

The General Secretaries' report as amended by the Working Committee was presented to the committee. Objections were raised by various members to various parts of the report and it was resolved that the report be withdrawn. The Committee endorsed the following resolution of the Working Committee:

"In view of the fact that the General Secretaries' report was necessarily incomplete the Committee resolved that a full report for the year 1930 be prepared soon after the sessions of the Congress and that the report do contain facts and figures relating to the civil disobedience movement. Further that the provincial committees be directed to send their provincial reports at an early date."

KARACHI SESSION 1931

The forty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Karachi on March 29, 30 and 31, 1931. Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the President of the Session.

The following resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress at its Forty-fifth Sessions held in Karachi on March 29, 30 and 31, 1931:—

1. CONDOLENCE

This Congress places on record its deep sorrow on the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Maulvi Mazharul Haq, Syt. Revashanker J. Jhaveri, Shah Mahomed

Zubair and V. C. Gurunatha Mudaliar, and the unknown heroes and heroines who died during the recent struggle, and tenders respectful condolence to the families of the deceased and assures them that the whole nation shares their grief.

2. SARDAR BHAGAT SINGH AND HIS COMRADES

This Congress, while dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any shape or form, places on record its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of the late Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades Syts. Sukhdev and Rajguru and mourns with the bereaved families the loss of these lives. This Congress is of opinion that this triple execution is an act of wanton vengeance and is a deliberate flouting of the unanimous demand of the nation for commutation. This Congress is further of opinion that Government have lost the golden opportunity of promoting goodwill between the two nations, admittedly held to be essential at this juncture, and of winning over to the method of peace the party which, being driven to despair, resorts to political violence.

3. POLITICAL PRISONERS

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that if the object of the settlement between the Government and the Congress is the promotion of goodwill between Great Britain and India and if the settlement is an earnest of Great Britain's determination to part with power, the Government should release all political prisoners, detenus and undertrials not covered by the settlement, and remove all political disabilities imposed by the Government on Indians, whether in India or abroad, on account of their political opinions or acts.

This Congress reminds the Government that if they will respond to this resolution, they will somewhat allay the strong public resentment that has been roused by the recent executions.

4. COMMUNAL STRIFE IN CAWNPORE

This Congress deplores the communal strife that is going on in Cawnpore and that has resulted in a large number of

deaths and even a larger number injured. The Congress tendered its respectful sympathy to the families of the deceased and the injured. The Congress notes with deep grief the news of the death during the strife of Sjt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, President U. P., P. C. C. who was one of the most selfless among national workers and who by his freedom from communal bias had endeared himself to all parties and communities. While tendering condolence to the family of the deceased the Congress notes with pride that a prominent worker of the first rank was found sacrificing his precious life in the attempt to rescue those in danger and restore peace and sanity in the midst of strife and insanity. The Congress asks all concerned to utilise this noble sacrifice for promoting peace and never for vengeance and, to that end, appoints a committee to discover the cause of the tension and to take such measures as may be necessary to heal the breach and to prevent the poison from spreading to the adjoining areas and districts.

COMMITTEE

Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon

Khwaja Abdul Majid

Syt. T. A. K. Sherwani

Syt. Zafurul Mulk

Pandit Sundarlal

with Dr. Bhagavan Das as Chairman.

5. THE PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT

This Congress, having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, endorses it, and desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence) remains intact. In the event of the way being otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at any conference with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegation will work for this objective and, in particular, so as to give the nation control over the defence forces, external affairs, finance and fiscal and economic policy, and to have

a scrutiny, by an impartial tribunal, of the financial transactions of the British Government in India and to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England, and the right to either party to end the partnership at will. Provided, however, that the Congress delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of India.

The Congress appoints and authorises Mahatma Gandhi to represent it at the Conference with the addition of such other delegates as the Working Committee may appoint to act under his leadership.

6. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SUFFERERS

This Congress congratulates all those who underwent great sufferings during the late Civil Disobedience campaign whether through imprisonment, shooting, bayonet or lathi charges, emigration from their homes and loss of property by confiscation, looting, burning or otherwise as a result of repression. The Congress more especially congratulates the women of India who rose in their thousands and assisted the nation in its struggle for freedom and respectfully assures them that no constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that discriminates against the sex in the matter of franchise.

7. COMMUNAL RIOTS

This Congress regards the communal riots of Benares, Mirzapur, Agra, Cawnpore and other places as highly injurious to the movement for India's freedom and strongly condemns those who are responsible for causing or provoking such riots and considers their peace-destroying activities deserving of the strongest censure. This Congress also deeply deplores the murders of citizens especially of women and children and sincerely sympathises with the living victims of the savagery and with the families of the dead.

8. PROHIBITION

This Congress notes with satisfaction the visible progress of the nation towards total prohibition during the past twelve months and calls upon all Congress organisations to

continue the anti-drink and drugs campaign with renovated vigour and hopes that the women of the country will redouble their efforts in weaning the drunkard and drug addict from a habit that ruins both body and soul and desolates happy homes.

9. KHADDAR

Experience gained during the past ten years through work in hundreds of villages has made it abundantly clear that the deepening poverty of the masses is due, among other things, to forced unemployment for want of a supplementary industry during leisure hours, and that only the spinning wheels supply that want on a universal scale. It has been further observed that the people having given up the wheel, and consequently khaddar, buy foreign cloth or cloth made in indigenous mills, thus causing a double drain from the villages—the drain in the shape of loss of fruits of labour and price of cloth. This double drain can be avoided only by the exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn and substitution thereof by khaddar, the indigenous mills supplementing khaddar only so far as it may be necessary. This Congress therefore appeals to the public to refrain from the purchase of foreign cloth and to the dealers in foreign cloth and yarn to give up a trade that seriously injures the interests of the millions of villages.

This Congress further calls upon all Congress organisations and allied bodies to intensify the foreign cloth boycott by increasing khadi propaganda.

This Congress appeals to the States to associate themselves with this constructive effort and prevent the entry of foreign cloth and foreign yarn into their territories.

This Congress also appeals to the owners of indigenous mills to assist the great constructive and economic movement by

- (1) giving their moral support to the supplementary village industry of hand-spinning by themselves using handspun;
- (2) by ceasing to manufacture cloth that may in any way compete with khaddar and to that end co-

operating with the effort of the All India Spinners' Association;

- (3) by keeping down the prices of their manufactures to the lowest possible limit;
- (4) by refraining from using foreign yarn, silk or artificial silk in their manufacture;
- (5) by exchanging the existing stock of the foreign piecegoods merchants for swadeshi cloth and thus helping them to convert their business into swadeshi and by re-exporting the former; and
- (6) by raising the status of the mill workers and making them feel that they are co-sharers with them as well in prosperity as in adversity.

This Congress suggests to the great foreign houses that they will help international brotherhood and revolutionise commercial ethics if they will take the first step by recognising the soundness and necessity of the economic boycott by India of foreign cloth, and themselves denying themselves a foreign trade that has admittedly hurt the economic well-being of India's masses and diverting their attention to enterprises more in keeping with the wants of the nations other than their own.

10. PEACEFUL PICKETING

This Congress notes with gratification the great success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and the sales of intoxicating drugs and drink, and calls upon the Congress organisations not to relax their efforts in the matter of peaceful picketing provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with the terms of the settlement in this behalf between the Government and the Congress.

11. FRONTIER PEOPLES

This Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with the countries and peoples bordering on India and desires to establish and maintain friendly relations with them. The Congress disapproves of the so-called 'forward' policy of the British Government in India in the North-West

Frontier and of all imperialist attempts to destroy the freedom of the people of the frontier. The Congress is strongly of opinion that the military and financial resources of India should not be employed in the furtherance of this policy, and the military occupation of the tribesmen's territory should be terminated.

12. N.-W. F. PROVINCE

Inasmuch as propaganda is said to be going on in the Frontier Province that the Congress does not mean well by them and it is desirable that the Congress should take steps to dispel this suspicion, this Congress hereby places on record its opinion that in any constitutional scheme the N.-W. F. Province shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India.

13. BURMA

This Congress recognises the right of the people of Burma to claim separation from India and to establish an independent Burman State or to remain an autonomous partner in a free India with a right of separation at any time they may desire to exercise it. The Congress however condemns the endeavour of the British Government to force separation of Burma without giving adequate opportunity to the Burmese people to express their views and against the declared wishes of their national political organisations. This endeavour seems to be deliberately engineered to perpetuate British domination there so as to make Burma together with Singapore, by reason of the presence of oil and their strategic position, strongholds of imperialism in Eastern Asia. The Congress is strongly opposed to any policy which would result in Burma being kept as a British dependency and her resources exploited for British imperialist purposes and would also be a menace to a free India as well as to the other nations of the East. The Congress urges that the extraordinary powers given to the Government of Burma be withdrawn and the declaration by the Government that representative and important organisations of Burmese national opinion are illegal be also withdrawn so that normal conditions be restored and the future of Burma may be discussed by her people without

hindrance in a peaceful atmosphere and the will of the Burmese people may prevail.

14. INDIANS IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA

The Congress views with alarm the trend of events in South Africa and East Africa regarding the position of Indian settlers in those countries. The contemplated legislation in South Africa is in contravention of promises and in some respects constitutes an attack even on legal rights. This Congress appeals to the governments concerned to mete out to the Indian settlers the same measure of justice as they would claim for their nationals in a free India. This Congress tenders its thanks to Deenabandhu Andrews and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru for their selfless labours on behalf of the settlers overseas.

15. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what "Swaraj," as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress, therefore, declares that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide, or enable the Swaraj Government to provide, for the following:

1. Fundamental rights of the people, including:
 - (i) freedom of association and combination;
 - (ii) freedom of speech and of the press;
 - (iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality;
 - (iv) protection of the culture, language, and scripts of the minorities;
 - (v) Equal rights and obligations of all citizens, without any bar on account of sex;
 - (vi) no disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste or creed or sex in

regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling;

- (vii) equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort;
- (viii) right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf;
- (ix) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

2. Religious neutrality on the part of the state.

3. Adult suffrage.

4. Free primary education.

5. A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

6. Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.

7. Protection of woman workers, and, specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.

8. Prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories.

9. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.

10. Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary, relief being given to small zamindars wherever necessary by reason of such reduction.

11. Imposition of a progressive income tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum.

12. A graduated inheritance tax.

13. Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one half of the present scale.

14. Expenditure and salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the state, other than specially employed experts and the like, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.

15. Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country.

16. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.

17. No duty on salt manufactured in India.

18. Control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses.

19. Control by the state of key industries and ownership of mineral resources.

20. Control of usury—direct or indirect.

It shall be open to the A. I. C. C. to revise, amend or add to the foregoing so far as such revision, amendment or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof.

16. CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION

(a) In place of "two general secretaries and two treasurers" in line 1 and 2 of Art. XXIII substitute "not more than three general secretaries and not more than two treasurers."

(b) First clause of Art. XXIV shall read as follows:

"The Working Committee of the Congress, which shall be the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters, shall consist of fifteen members of whom the President, the General Secretary or Secretaries and the Treasurer or Treasurers shall be ex-officio members. The remaining members shall be elected by the All India Congress Committee at its first meeting after the annual session of the Congress."

17. OFFICE-BEARERS

The following shall be the general secretaries for the next year: Syts. Jawaharlal Nehru, Jairamdas Doulatram and

Dr. Syed Mahmud and that Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj shall be the Treasurer.

18. NEXT CONGRESS

The next Congress be held in the Utkal Province.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Karachi, April 1, 1931

The A. I. C. C. met on April 1, 1931 in Harchandra Nagar, Karachi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Presiding.

1. Resolved that all resolutions referred by the Subjects Committee to the A. I. C. C. be referred to the Working Committee.

2. The following ten members were elected to the Working Committee:

Mahatma Gandhi; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; Srimati Sarojini Naidu; Dr. M. A. Ansari; Shri Rajendra Prasad; Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta; Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar; Shri M. S. Aney; Shri K. F. Nariman; Dr. Mohammad Alam.

NOTE—Besides these the following are ex-officio members:

President:

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Treasurer:

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

General Secretaries:

Dr. Syed Mahmud

Shri Jairamdas Doulatram

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Resolved that the new elections to the All India Congress Committee should be completed by June 15, 1931.

4. The following election disputes Panel was elected:

Shri S. Satyamurti; Shri T. Viswanatham; Swami Govindanand; Shri Kaleswara Rao; Shri R. K. Sindhwa; Lala Duni Chand; Dr. B. C. Roy; Shri K. Bhashyam; Shri Rajkrishna Bose and Shri T. A. K. Sherwani.

APPENDIX No. 1

PEACE TALKS

July to September, 1930

Certain interviews which Mr. George Slocombe, special correspondent of the *Daily Herald* of London, had with Pandit Motilal Nehru in June 1930 led to the drafting of a statement by Mr. Slocombe embodying certain terms for the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement. On the basis of this statement, which was agreed to by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayaker interviewed the Viceroy as well as the Congress leaders in prison. To permit the Congress leaders to confer together Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Syed Mahmud were transferred from Naini Prison to Yeravda Prison where Mahatma Gandhi was being kept. Prolonged talks took place there between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar on the one side and Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Syed Mahmud and Jairamdas Doulatram, as representing the Congress. These Congress leaders explained the Congress position and indicated the terms for withdrawing Civil Disobedience in a letter dated 15th August 1930 which is given below. They were informed later on that these terms were not acceptable to the Government. On the 5th September 1930 another letter was sent by Gandhiji and his companions in Yeravda Prison to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar. This letter, which is given below, ended the conversations:

Letter from Congress Leaders to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar containing Peace Conditions

Yeravda Central Prison
August 15th, 1930

Dear Friends,

We are deeply grateful to you for having undertaken the duty of trying to effect a peaceful settlement between the British Government and the Congress. After having per-

used the correspondence between yourselves and His Excellency the Viceroy and having had the benefit of protracted talks with you and having discussed among ourselves, we have come to the conclusion that the time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement honourable for our country. Marvellous as has been the mass awakening during the past five months and great as have been the sufferings of the people among all grades and classes representing the different creeds, we feel that the sufferings have been neither sustained enough nor large enough for the immediate attainment of the end. Needless to mention we do not in any way share your view or the Viceroy's that civil disobedience has harmed the country or that it is ill-timed or unconstitutional. English history teems with instances of bloody revolts whose praises Englishmen have sung unstintingly and taught us to do likewise. It therefore ill-becomes the Viceroy or any intelligent Englishman to condemn a revolt that is in intention and that has overwhelmingly remained in execution peaceful, but we have no desire to quarrel with condemnation whether official or unofficial of the present civil disobedience campaign. The wonderful mass response to the movement is, we hold, its sufficient justification. What is, however, the point here is the fact that we gladly make common cause with you in wishing, if it is at all possible to stop or suspend, civil disobedience. It can be no pleasure to us needlessly to expose the men, women and children of our country to imprisonment, lathi charges and worse. You will, therefore, believe us when we assure you, and through you the Viceroy, that we would leave no stone unturned to explore any and every channel for honourable peace, but we are free to confess, as yet we see no such sign on the horizon. We notice no symptom of conversion of the English official world to the view that it is India's men and women who must decide what is best for India. We distrust the pious declarations of the good intentions, often well meant, of officials. The age-long exploitation by the English of the people of this ancient land has rendered them almost incapable of seeing the ruin, moral, economic and political of our country which this exploitation has brought about. They cannot persuade themselves to see, that one thing needful for them to do is to get off our backs and do some reparation for the past wrongs by helping us to

grow out of the dwarfing process that has gone on for a century of British domination, but we know you and some of our learned countrymen think differently. You believe a conversion has taken place, at any rate, sufficient to warrant participation in the proposed Conference. In spite, therefore, of the limitation we are labouring under, we would gladly co-operate with you to the extent of our ability.

The following is the utmost response it is possible for us, circumstanced as we are, to make to your friendly endeavour.

(1) We feel the language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the proposed Conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value in terms of the National Demand framed last year in Lahore nor are we in a position to say anything authoritative without reference to a properly constituted meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and if necessary to the A. I. C. C.; but we can say that for us individually no solution will be satisfactory unless (*a*) it recognises in as many words the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire, (*b*) it gives to India complete national Government responsible to her people including the control of defence forces and economic control and covers all the eleven points raised in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy and (*c*) it gives to India the right to refer if necessary to an Independent tribunal such British claims, concessions and the like including the so-called public debt of India as may seem to the national Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India.

NOTE—Such adjustments as may be necessitated in the interests of India during the transference of power to be determined by India's chosen representatives.

(2) If the foregoing appears to be feasible to the British Government and a satisfactory declaration is made to that effect, we should recommend to the Working Committee the advisability of calling off civil disobedience, that is to say disobedience of certain laws for the sake of disobedience, but peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor will be continued unless Government themselves can enforce prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth. The manufacture of the salt by the people will have to be continued and the penal clauses of

the Salt Act should not be enforced. There will be no raids on Government or private salt depots.

(3) Simultaneously with the calling off of civil disobedience (a) all the satyagrahi prisoners and other political prisoners convicted or under trial who have not been guilty of violence or incitement to violence should be ordered to be released, (b) properties confiscated under the Salt Act, the Press Act, the Revenue Act and the like should be restored, (c) fines and securities taken from convicted satyagrahis or under the Press Act should be refunded, (d) all the officers including village officers who have resigned or who may have been dismissed during the civil disobedience movement and who may desire to rejoin Government service should be reinstated.

NOTE—The foregoing Sub-clauses refer also to the Non-co-operation period.

(e) All the Viceregal Ordinances should be repealed.

(4) The question of the composition of the proposed Conference and of the Congress being represented at it can only be decided after the foregoing preliminaries are satisfactorily settled."

Yours sincerely

Motilal Nehru

M. K. Gandhi

Sarojini Naidu

Vallabhbhai Patel

Jairamdas Daulatram

Syed Mahmud

Jawaharlal Nehru

*Letter from Congress Leaders to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and
Mr. M. R. Jayakar sent on the 5th September, '30*

Yeravda Central Prison

September 5, 1930

Dear Friends,

We have very carefully gone through the letter, written to you by H. E. the Viceroy dated August 28, 1930. You

have kindly supplemented it with a record of your conversations with the Viceroy on points not covered by the letter. We have equally carefully gone through the Note signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and sent by them through you. This note embodies their considered opinion on the said letter and the conversation.

We gave two anxious nights to these papers and we had the benefit of a full and free discussion with you on all the points arising out of these papers. And as we have told you we have all arrived at the definite conclusion that we see no meeting ground between the Government and the Indian National Congress so far as we can speak for the latter, being out of touch with the outside world. We unreservedly associate ourselves with the opinion contained in the Note sent by the distinguished prisoners in the Naini Central Prison, but these friends expect us to give in our own words our view of the position finally reached in the negotiations for peace which you, with patriotic motives, have carried on during the past two months at considerable sacrifice of your own time and no less inconvenience to yourselves. We shall therefore allude as briefly as possible to the fundamental difficulties that have stood in the way of peace being achieved.

The Viceroy's letter dated July 16, 1930 is, we have taken, intended to satisfy, so far as may be, the terms of the interview, Pandit Motilal Nehru gave to Mr. George Slocombe on June 20th, and the statement submitted by Mr. Slocombe to him on June 25th and approved by him. We are unable to read in the Viceroy's language in his letter of July 16th anything like satisfaction of the terms of the interview of the said statement. Here are the relevant parts of the interview and the statement.

In the interview it was stated, "If the terms of the Round Table Conference are to be left open and we are expected to go to London to argue the case for Dominion Status, I should decline. If it was made clear, however, that the Conference would meet to frame a constitution for a Free India subject to such adjustments of our mutual relations as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and our past agitation, I for one would be disposed to recom-

mend to the Congressmen to accept the invitation to participate in the conference. We must be masters in our household, but we are ready to agree to reasonable terms for the period of transition of power from a British administration in India to a responsible Indian Government. The Conference must be to meet British people to discuss these terms as nation to nation and on an equal footing.

The statement contained the following: "The Government would give private assurance that they would support the demand for full responsible Government for India subject to such mutual adjustments and terms of transfer as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and by her long association with Great Britain and as may be decided by the Round Table Conference."

Here is the relevant part of the Viceroy's letter, "It remains my earnest desire, as it is, that of my Government,—and I have no doubt also that of His Majesty's Government—to do everything we can in our respective sphere to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibilities. What these matters may be, and what provisions may best be made for them, will engage the attention of the conference, but I have never believed that, with mutual confidence on both sides it should be impossible to reach an agreement."

We feel that there is a vast difference between the two positions. Where Pandit Motilalji visualises a Free India enjoying a status different in kind from the present as a result of the deliberations of the proposed Round Table Conference, the Viceroy's letter merely commits him and his Government and the British Cabinet to an earnest desire to assist India to obtain as large a degree of the management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility. In other words, the prospect held out by the Viceroy's letter is one of getting, at the most, something more along the lines of the reforms commencing with those known to us as the Lansdowne Reforms. As we had the fear that our interpretation was

correct in our letter of August 15, 1930 signed also by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, we put our position negatively and said what would not in our opinion satisfy the Congress. The letter you have now brought from H. E. the Viceroy reiterates the original position taken up by him in his first letter, and we are grieved to say, contemptuously dismisses our letter as unworthy of consideration and regards discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible.

You have thrown further light on the question by telling us that if Mr. Gandhi definitely faced the Government of India with such a question i.e., the right of secession from the Empire at India's will, the Viceroy would say, they were not prepared to treat it as an open question. We, on the other hand, regard the question as the central point in any constitution that India is to secure and one which ought not to need any argument. If India is now to attain full Responsible Government or full Self-Government or whatever other term it is to be known by, it can be only on an absolutely voluntary basis, leaving each party to sever the partnership or association at will. If India is to remain no longer a part of the Empire but is to become an equal and free partner in the Commonwealth, she must feel the want and warmth of that association and never otherwise. You will please observe this position is clearly brought out in the interview already alluded to by us. So long, therefore as the British Government, or the British people regard this position as impossible or untenable, the Congress must in our opinion, continue the fight for freedom.

The attitude taken up by the Viceroy over the very mild proposal made by us regarding the Salt Tax affords a further painful insight into the Government's mentality. It is as plain as daylight to us that, from the dizzy heights of Simla, the Rulers of India are unable to understand or appreciate the difficulties of the starving millions living in the plains whose incessant toil makes Government from such a giddy height at all possible.

If the blood of innocent people which was spilt during the last five months to sustain the monopoly of a gift of nature next in importance to poor people only to air and

water, has not brought home to the Government the conviction of its utter immorality, no conference of Indian leaders as suggested by the Viceroy can possibly do so. The suggestion that those who ask for the repeal of the monopoly should show a source of equivalent revenue adds insult to injury. This attitude is an indication that if Government can help it the existing crushingly expensive system shall continue to the end of time. We venture further to point out that not only does the Government here, but Governments, all the world over, openly condone breaches of measures which have become unpopular but which for technical or other reasons cannot straight away be repealed. We need not now deal with many other important matters in which too there is no adequate advance from the Viceroy to the popular position set forth by us. We hope we have brought out sufficient weighty matters in which there appears at present to be an unbridged gulf between the British Government and the Congress.

There need, however, be no disappointment for the apparent failure of the peace negotiations. The Congress is engaged in a grim struggle for Freedom. The nation has resorted to a weapon which the Rulers being unused to it will take time to understand and appreciate. We are not surprised that a few months' suffering has not converted them. The Congress desires to harm no single legitimate interest by whomsoever acquired. It has no quarrel with Englishmen as such, but it resents and will resent with all the moral strength at its command, the intolerable British domination. Non-violence being assured to the end, we are certain of the early fulfilment of the national aspiration. This we say, in spite of the bitter and often insulting language used by the powers that be in regard to civil disobedience.

Lastly, we once more thank you for the great pains you have taken to bring about peace, but we suggest that the time has not arrived when any further peace negotiations should be carried on with those in charge of the Congress organisation. As prisoners, we labour under an obvious handicap. Our opinion is based, as it must be, on second hand evidence and runs the risk of being faulty. It would be naturally open to those in charge of the Congress organi-

sation to see any of us. In that case, and when the Government itself is equally desirous for peace, they should have no difficulty in having access to us.

(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi
 Sarojini Naidu
 Vallabhbhai Patel
 Jairamdas Doulatram

We content ourselves with publishing for the information of the public material facts and documents and in strict conformity with our duties and obligations as intermediaries. We refrain in this statement from putting our own interpretation or offering our own comments on the facts and documents set out above. We may mention that we have obtained the consent of H. E. the Viceroy, and the Congress leaders to the publication of the documents above set out.

APPENDIX No. 2

A NOTE ON THE PROGRESS OF THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

The Secretary submitted to the Committee a short note on the progress of the movement in different provinces, including the number of convictions so far reported to the office of the A. I. C. C. The following is a list of these Convictions:—

Ajmer	50	
Andhra	3000	Upto 29th July 1930 ex-
Assam	50	cluding Sylhet upto
Behar	4158	25th July.
Bengal	6000	
Berar	125	
Burma	?	
C. P. Hindustani	100	
C. P. Marathi	150	Upto 1st August 1930 ex-
City of Bombay	1759	cluding members of the
Delhi	400	public arrested at Wadla.
Gujarat	961	Upto 25th July 1930.
Karnatak	450	
Kerala	200	

Maharashtra	1000	Upto 28th July 1930.
N.-W. F. Province	600	
Punjab	3500	Upto 28th July 1930.
Sind	68	
Tamil Nad	690	Excluding Madras City.
United Provinces	1700	Upto 23rd July 1930.
Utkal	350	Upto 4th July 1930.

ACTION UNDER PRESS ORDINANCE.

The Government stated that in all 88 newspapers either stopped or did not start publication in view of demand for security which was made from 131 newspapers and nine presses.

MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE IMPRISONED

The following 20 members of the Working Committee including the President for the year and two ex-presidents have been imprisoned during the present campaign:

1. Pandit Motilal Nehru
2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Dr. Syed Mahmud
4. Shri Abbas S. Tyabji
5. M. Abdul Qadir Kasuri
6. Shri M. Krishna Rao
7. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
8. Shri C. Rajagopalachari
9. Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta
10. Shri Purshottamdas Tandon
11. Mahatma Gandhi
12. Shri Sri Prakasa
13. Shri Shiva Prasad
14. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj
15. Shri Rajendra Prasad
16. Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
17. Dr. Satyapal
18. Shri K. F. Nariman
19. Sardar Sardul Singh Kaveeshar
20. Shri Sunderlal

Besides these, another ex-president Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has also been sent to jail.

WOMEN SATYAGRAHIS

The number of women satyagrahis (whose names are known to us) so far convicted is 55. Besides these many more lady workers have been sent to jail.

CONGRESS COMMITTEES DECLARED UNLAWFUL

Twenty-six Congress Committees and their War Councils and allied organisations have been declared unlawful associations including the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee. Besides these all Naujawan Bharat Sabhas throughout Punjab and the U. P. have also been declared to be unlawful.

FIRINGS

Peaceful satyagrahis and the general public were fired on at the following places:—

Peshawar, Sholapur, Bombay, Madras, Mymensingh, Contai (Midnapore), Kalna (Burdwan) Jubbulpore, Meerut, Delhi, Madura, Salem, Saran (U.P.), Karachi and Lucknow.

PROMULGATION OF SECTION 144

Section 144 has been promulgated in 95 places in different parts of the country.

APPENDIX No. 3

VISAPUR JAIL ENQUIRY REPORT

On hearing exceedingly disturbing rumours about the treatment of political prisoners in the recently put up Visapur Jail we obtained permission from the Government of Bombay to go and examine the conditions at Visapur for ourselves. Accordingly we reached Visapur on Friday, the 25th of July and accompanied by Mr. Bhansali, I.C.S., the District Magistrate and Collector of Ahmednagar, we visited the jail on the same day and on the next day. We were inside the jail on the first day from 2 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. and on the second day from 12 noon to 3 p.m. On both these occasions the

Superintendent Mr. Warner and the Jailor Mr. Longman personally accompanied us and all the enquiries we made were done in their presence and after giving them opportunity to interrogate those prisoners who complained to us.

The Visapur jail is situated 27 miles away from Ahmednagar City. The place is like a desert with no human habitation within about 10 miles. The Jail consists of 12 barracks for prisoners, each separated from the other by a double fencing and the whole area enclosed by another wire-fencing. Excepting three, these barracks are all 'kacha buildings,' no more than sheds more fit for housing cattle than human beings. The walls of the barrack are 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and capped by wires for a further height of about 2 ft. These bars are perhaps meant to ventilate the barracks. But they only succeed in letting cold blasts of wind at nights thus adding to the torture of the prisoners who have hardships enough to bear without this amenity. It may be stated here that the nights are cold and the atmosphere damp with continuous cold breezes and yet most of the prisoners have been supplied with but one blanket which has to suffice both for bedding and for covering with the result that to most of them the nights are a shivering ordeal. The floor area of each barrack is about $128' \times 15'$ of which 10' square is occupied by a latrine, the utility of which will demand attention later 110 prisoners are lodged for the night i.e., from 6 p.m. to 5-30 a.m. on week days and 2 p.m. to 5-30 a.m. on Sundays in each one of these barracks. They have thus to remain huddled in this barrack for $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours for 6 days in the week and for $15\frac{1}{2}$ hours on the seventh day. The prisoners are made to lie down in two opposite rows of 55 each along the length of the barrack which is 118 ft. thus leaving a space of about only 2 ft. 1 inch per man. The result is that they have to lie in such close proximity to each other that it is impossible to avoid their breathing on each other. They are hardly able to turn on the sides, for such indiscretion brings one into clash with the body of his neighbour. Thus most of the time they are to lie stiff on their back. Further, during the time they are inside the barrack no prisoner is allowed to get up or stir from his so-called bed. The floor on which the prisoners are forced to lie down for such long dreary hours is nothing more than an earthen floor very

badly beaten down, so that the earth and stones have become loose and the stones make it painful for anyone to walk not to speak of sleeping. The huddling together of prisoners under these conditions is extremely insanitary and contributes not a little to the prevalent ill-health. We cannot sufficiently emphasise that this manner of housing people is totally inhuman and a source of no small torture to the unfortunate inmates. During these long hours no prisoner is permitted to go to the latrine unless he has fortified himself with a written permit from the Doctor, that he be allowed to answer such calls of nature.

In view of the wide prevalence of dysentery and diarrhoea one can surmise the agonies which these prisoners must be suffering in the night.

Further the jail compound is infested with snakes, scorpions and centipedes have also been found inside the barrack and there have been one or two cases of biting from these. No less than 6 snakes have been reported to have been killed in the last fortnight.

At 5-30 a.m. the prisoners are marched off outside the barracks. For each barrack there are 17 latrines. The prisoners have to take their turn at the latrine in batches of 17 in the first and 10 in the subsequent batches. During the time that each prisoner gets his turn to go to latrine i.e. an average of at least 30 minutes he is made to sit on his haunches with his hands resting on his toes. This position of sitting, incites the desire to pass stools and hence the prisoners have a terrible process during which they have to suppress the action. We asked the Superintendent about this. He said that was being done as an act of jail discipline. We have always preached obedience to jail discipline. But if this is what the Government calls jail discipline, we condemn it as inhuman and barbarous and no civilised man could tolerate such torture. To add to the inconvenience of the situation there are no water arrangements inside the latrine. The prisoners have to walk out half naked to some distance and there to do the washing. As if to add to the humiliation of it all, there is only one tin pot supplied which has to be used both for drinking purposes and for use in the latrine.

Bathing.—There are no bathing arrangements by way

of taps. The prisoners are marched off at about 8 to a public tank 200 yds. outside the jail limits. A portion of the tank has been fenced for the use of the prisoners. Although they are solemnly marched off for bathing the bath consists of no more than 2 minutes' dip in the water. No soap is supplied even though the satyagrahi prisoners come from a class accustomed to clean personal habits and daily baths. Their being huddled together for hours in the barracks makes a bath all the more necessary. In consequence of this lack of bathing facilities many of the prisoners are suffering from itches and other skin troubles which might prove very loathsome and ineradicable perhaps for years. They have to dry themselves with an apology of a towel, and being only supplied with one set of clothing they are compelled to put on the same dirty clothing again. No opportunity is given for washing this one suit of clothes except once a week, when each prisoner is supplied with less than an ounce of washing soda. No stones are provided and under the circumstances no more than a rinsing of the clothes is all that is possible, which leaves the clothes as dirty as before. The clothes take 3 to 4 hours to dry even in dry weather, and all this time though it is very cold the prisoners have no protection for the body and no covering except a 'langot.'

Food.—The meals supplied to the prisoners are as follows:

8 a.m.—Bowl of thin Jowar gruel.

12 noon—2 chupatis and a cup of thick dal.

3-30 p.m.—2 chupatis and a cupful of vegetables.

The chupatis are of Jowar for 5 days and Bajri for 2 days in the week. These chupatis are always full of dirt and grit and ordinarily uneatable. They taste bitter in the mouth. They are in addition ill-cooked. The vegetables supplied are of the cheapest kind and with hardly any variety and although the ration provides for $\frac{3}{4}$ seer of vegetables for the afternoon meals the quantity supplied is hardly $\frac{1}{4}$ seer. Both the dal and vegetables are heavily spiced with chilies and garlic and has caused stomach trouble to many prisoners. The dal and vegetables are not clean and contain animalcules. A cup of dal brought to us in the presence of the Dy. Director of Health though no doubt carefully selected yet contained three such dead insects. This noxious type of

food we discovered on the first day. Before departing on the 1st day we expressed a desire to see the kitchen and the Superintendent promised to take us the next day. The next day on our visit things were more clean but we do not know whether this appearance of cleanliness was dished up for our benefit. The result of this dieting has been the alarming prevalence of dysentery and diarrhoea.

Medical Relief.—The jail provides two Doctors and one compounder for a population of about 1100 prisoners and 200 jail staff under conditions when about 50% of the inmates are suffering from one illness or other. The stock of medicines is insufficient.

The Jail Hospital contains about 12 cots. On the day of our visit the hospital had about 65 indoor patients. All except the lucky 12 were heaped together on the floor. Patients have sometimes to wait for 24 and 48 hours before they are able to see the Doctor or get medicine. Serious cases which have been prescribed special diet have to wait for two or three days before their particular requirements are supplied. In several cases we found that even patients suffering from diseases as a result of the jail food and medical advice to have separate diet are only given the ordinary jail food. The medical staff under the circumstances is extremely over-worked and therefore prone to indifference. We found a case in the hospital of a patient too weak to leave his bed without support passing stools in his bed and not being attended to. No mattresses are supplied even in the hospital.

Treatment of Prisoners.—The supervision of the prisoners is in the hands of the convict warders imported from other jails and sepoys recruited from the criminal tribes. These warders assault the prisoners for no provocation whatsoever and we are constrained to say that the Jailor instead of restraining the ardour of his minions actually has been known to encourage and instigate them to such acts of brutality. Some cases were reported to us of the jailor himself assaulting the prisoners. The assaults are made not only with fists but also lathis are freely used. We were shown marks of bruises and contused wounds which were the result of these assaults. These wounds have been reported by the prisoners to the Jail Doctor.

The jailor as well as all the warders freely indulge in coarse abuses of the mothers and sisters of the prisoners. More than the beating which the prisoners suffer unflinchingly it is these abuses that are revolting to the minds of the prisoners, almost all of them being cultured and belonging to a high status in life. No complaints are allowed to be taken to the Superintendent. In some cases when prisoners had been able to make complaint to him he invariably preferred the word of those against whom the complaint was made and in some cases the person complaining was given solitary confinement for his trouble. The prisoners are also continuously threatened with fresh assaults in case they dare to make complaints. Several prisoners told us that they have been threatened with dire consequences in case they divulged anything even to us. Large numbers of them were evidently too terrified to lay their complaints before us. Several persons told us that an unrestrained reign of terror prevailed in the jail against which they had no hope of remedy or redress. Some of them also told us that they felt that they have been deliberately brought to Visapur for being slowly tortured to death.

The prisoners complained that they are not allowed time for saying their prayers or Nimaz. The Mohammedan prisoners were particularly strong on this point and complained that the Quran-e-Sharif was not allowed to be kept in any niche but had to be wrapped up with their blanket. This they consider as extremely insulting to their religious sensibilities.

In conclusion we might say that in putting down the above we have very carefully weighed the evidence placed before us and on account of limitations of language if at all the facts placed before us in cases may have been toned down. Because it is very difficult to put down in writing the terrible state of affairs which we witnessed. We have no doubt that in spite of strenuous denial on the part of the Jailor the cases which came under our notice of ill-treatment more than sufficiently satisfied us that extreme ill-treatment was rampant. We have to mention that the evidence was of men most of them well educated and in their daily avocation fairly well-placed in life and the impression that was conveyed to our minds was that there was no attempt on

the part of the prisoners to exaggerate their sufferings which were very real. We do not know if this is the treatment usually meted out to even ordinarily hardened criminals. If it is we have no hesitation in saying that it would be inhuman even for them. We might add that we went to see for ourselves with perfectly open minds and even now it gives us no pleasure to put before the public the sorry recital of the trouble of the satyagrahi prisoners who claim no more than ordinary human treatment.

The conclusions that we are forced to come to are:—

1. The Jail is situated in an unhealthy place where ordinary human habitation would be fraught with grave danger to health.
2. The provision for shelter and accommodation is totally inadequate and results in herding together of human beings almost like the proverbial Sardines.
3. The facilities allowed for ordinary calls of nature apart from being humiliating and disgusting are inadequate and during times when prisoners are locked up, a source of acute discomfort.
4. The bathing and washing arrangements are an absolute eyewash and insanitary and are the cause of widespread skin trouble.
5. The clothing mainly consists of one set of clothes and a single blanket which has to serve both as bedding and covering apart from being insufficient is grossly insanitary and shows the callous indifference of the officials. The clothing supplied is below the minimum prescribed by the Jail Manual.
6. The food ordinarily supplied is unfit for human consumption and has led to widespread illness.
7. The medical relief afforded is of the scantiest nature even below the provisions made in the Jail Manual.
8. The treatment of the prisoners is only an essay in terrorism.
9. The presence of snakes and other venomous insects presents such danger to life as should compel any civilized government to remove the prisoners to a healthier and safer place.

We take this opportunity to thank Sir J. E. B. Hotson who promptly gave us permission to visit the Visapur Jail and to interview prisoners.

(Sd.) Moolraj Karsondas
 Balubhai T. Desai
 M. B. Velkar
 Vithaldas Bhagavandas

APPENDIX No. 4

DELHI TRUCE

New Delhi, March 5, 1931

The following statement by the Governor-General in Council is published for general information:—

1. Consequent on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued, and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and local Governments.

2. As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, Federation is an essential part; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters as, for instance, defence; external affairs; the position of minorities; the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations.

3. In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his announcement of January 19, 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the future discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform.

4. The settlement relates to activities directly connected with the civil disobedience movement.

5. Civil disobedience will be effectively discontinued

and reciprocal action will be taken by Government. The effective discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement means the effective discontinuance of all activities in furtherance thereof, by whatever methods pursued and, in particular, the following:—

- (1) The organised defiance of provisions of any law.
- (2) The movement for the non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues.
- (3) The publication of news-sheets in support of the civil disobedience movement.
- (4) Attempts to influence civil and military servants or village officials against Government or to persuade them to resign their posts.

6. As regards the boycott of foreign goods, there are two issues involved, firstly, the character of the boycott and secondly, the methods employed in giving effect to it. The position of Government is as follows. They approve of the encouragement of Indian industries as part of the economic and industrial movement designed to improve the material condition of India, and they have no desire to discourage methods of propaganda, persuasion or advertisement pursued with this object in view, which do not interfere with the freedom of action of individuals, or are not prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order. But the boycott of non-Indian goods (except of cloth which has been applied to all foreign cloth) has been directed during the civil disobedience movement chiefly, if not exclusively, against British goods, and in regard to these it has been admittedly employed in order to exert pressure for political ends.

It is accepted that a boycott of this character, and organised for this purpose, will not be consistent with the participation of representatives of the Congress in a frank and friendly discussion of constitutional questions between representatives of British India, of the Indian States, and of His Majesty's Government and political parties in England, which the settlement is intended to secure. It is, therefore, agreed that the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement connotes the definite discontinuance of the employment of the boycott of British commodities as a political weapon and

that, in consequence, those who have given up, during a time of political excitement, the sale or purchase of British goods must be left free without any form of restraint to change their attitude if they so desire.

7. In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods, or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing, except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended.

8. Mr. Gandhi has drawn the attention of Government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police, and represented the desirability of a public enquiry into them. In present circumstances Government see great difficulty in this course and feel that it must inevitably lead to charges and countercharges, and so militate against the re-establishment of peace. Having regard to these considerations, Mr. Gandhi agreed not to press the matter.

9. The action that Government will take on the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is stated in the following paragraphs.

10. Ordinances promulgated in connection with the civil disobedience movement will be withdrawn.

Ordinance No. 1 of 1931 relating to the terrorist movement does not come within the scope of the provision.

11. Notifications declaring associations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 will be withdrawn, provided that the notifications were made in connection with the civil disobedience movement.

The notifications recently issued by the Burma Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act do not come within the scope of this provision.

12. (i) Pending prosecutions will be withdrawn if they have been filed in connection with the civil disobedience

movement and relate to offences which do not involve violence other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence.

(ii) The same principles will apply to proceedings under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(iii) Where a local Government has moved any High Court or has initiated proceedings under the Legal Practitioners' Act in regard to the conduct of legal practitioners in connection with the civil disobedience movement, it will make application to the Court concerned for permission to withdraw such proceedings, provided that the alleged conduct of the persons concerned does not relate to violence or incitement to violence.

(iv) Prosecutions, if any, against soldiers and police involving disobedience of orders will not come within the scope of this provision.

13. (i) Those prisoners will be released who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the civil disobedience movement for offences which did not involve violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence.

(ii) If any prisoner who comes within the scope of (i) above has been also sentenced for a jail offence, not involving violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence, the latter sentence also will be remitted, or if a prosecution relating to an offence of this character is pending against such a prisoner, it will be withdrawn.

(iii) Soldiers and police convicted of offences involving disobedience of orders—in the very few cases that have occurred—will not come within the scope of the amnesty.

14. Fines which have not been realised will be remitted. Where an order for the forfeiture of security has been made under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the security has not been realised, it will be similarly remitted.

Fines which have been realised and securities forfeited and realised under any law will not be returned.

15. Additional police imposed in connection with the civil disobedience movement at the expense of the inhabitants of a particular area will be withdrawn at the discretion of local Governments. Local Governments will not refund any

money, not in excess of the actual cost, that has been realised, but they will remit any sum that has not been realised.

16. (a) Movable property, which is not an illegal possession, and which has been seized in connection with the civil disobedience movement, under the Ordinances or the provisions of the Criminal Law, will be returned, if it is still in the possession of Government.

(b) Movable property, forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned, unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulters, while willing to pay, genuinely require time for the purpose, and if necessary, the revenue will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Compensation will not be given for deterioration.

(d) Where movable property has been sold or otherwise finally disposed by the Government, compensation will not be given and the sale proceeds will not be returned, except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which the property may have been sold.

(e) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law.

17. (a) Immovable property of which possession has been taken under Ordinance IX of 1930 will be returned in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance.

(b) Land and other immovable property in the possession of Government, which has been forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned unless the Collector of the district has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter, while willing to pay, genuinely requires time for the purpose, and if necessary the revenues will be suspended in accordance with the ordi-

nary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Where immovable property has been sold to third parties, the transaction must be regarded as final, so far as Government are concerned.

NOTE—Mr. Gandhi has represented to Government that according to his information and belief some, at least, of these sales have been unlawful and unjust. Government on the information before them cannot accept this contention.

(d) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the seizure or attachment of property was not in accordance with the law.

18. Government believe that there have been very few cases in which the realization of dues has not been made in accordance with the provisions of the law. In order to meet such cases, if any, local Governments will issue instructions to District Officers to have prompt enquiry made into any specific complaint of this nature, and to give redress without delay if illegality is established.

19. Where the posts rendered vacant by resignations have been permanently filled, Government will not be able to reinstate the late incumbents. Other cases of resignation will be considered on their merits by local Governments who will pursue a liberal policy in regard to the reappointment of Government servants and village officials who apply for reinstatement.

20. Government are unable to condone breaches of the existing law relating to the salt administration, nor are they able, in the present financial conditions of the country, to make substantial modifications in the Salt Acts.

For the sake however of giving relief to certain of the poorer classes, they are prepared to extend their administrative provisions, on lines already prevailing in certain places, in order to permit local residents in villages, immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made, to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale within such villages, but not for sale to, or trading with, individuals living outside them.

21. In the event of Congress failing to give full effect to the obligations of this settlement, Government will take

such action as may, in consequence, become necessary for the protection of the public and individuals and the due observance of law and order.

H. W. EMERSON
Secretary to the Government of India

APPENDIX No. 5

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1929 to 31st December, 1930 in the Office of the All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.

	<i>Receipts</i>	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Opening balance:—							
(a) Cash in hand		177	4	3			
(b) Cash in bank		1044	5	11			
(c) With Mr. Mahalinga Sharma at Madras		13	6	6			
(d) Postage in hand		32	1	0	1267	1	8
2. Advances repaid or accounted for:—							
(i) Syt. B. Raja Rau		1200	0	0			
(ii) „ N. Raghavachari		25	0	0			
(iii) „ R. C. Pande		5	0	0			
(iv) „ Peon Jageshar		13	0	0	1243	0	0
3. Received from or on behalf of Treasurer A. I. C. C.					26051	10	9
4. Receipts from publications:—							
(i) Sale proceeds of A. P. Report		846	15	2			
(ii) Do of Congress publications		187	11	6			
(iii) Do of Peshawar Enquiry Report		4	0	0	1038	10	8
5. Miscellaneous receipts:—							
(i) Interest		24	12	10			

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
(ii) Discount received from the A. L. J. Press on the sale proceeds of their books at Lahore and Allahabad	32 0 0	
(iii) Dollar from U. S. A.	2 11 6	
(iv) Discount on the sale of badges	3 6 0	
(v) A. I. C. C's. share of Pandit Motilal Nehru's percentage of income	70 0 0	132 14 4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
6. Donations received for Satyagraha Fund		1001 0 0
7. Sundry creditors:—		
(i) Lalaji Memorial Fund	13 4 0	
(ii) Manager Allahabad Law Journal Press	23 7 0	
(iii) Hindustan Times Delhi	4 7 0	41 2 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		30775 7 5
		<hr/>

Expenditure

8. Office expenses:—		
(i) Salaries		9264 5 8
(ii) Rents and taxes		1221 10 8
(iii) Stationery and Printing		2358 10 3
(iv) Postage and telegrams		1359 5 0
(v) Miscellaneous		637 7 9
(vi) Expenses in despatching Congress publications to all P. C. Cs. from Madras and remuneration of Mahalinga Sarma		50 0 0
(vii) Price of badges paid to Tamil Nad P. C. C.		3 2 0
(viii) Eight days interlude		62 2 0
9. Travelling expenses		2137 1 9
10. Expenses on Treasurer's account:—		
(i) Syt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi for overseas work	288 3 0	
(ii) Research Dept.	2507 13 0	
(iii) Courier service	711 6 0	

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
(iv) Lahore Congress Expenses	398 5 6	
(v) Special Propaganda Exp.	457 0 0	4380 11 0
11. All Parties Conference Fund		870 10 2
12. Loans or deposits repaid:—		
(i) Allahabad Town Congress Committee	32 0 0	
(ii) Allahabad District Congress Committee	326 15 0	
(iii) Allahabad Youth League	60 0 0	
(iv) Ajmer P. C. C.	1779 13 0	2198 12 0
13. Amount written off:—		
Dues of Mr. Mahalinga Sarma		13 6 6
14. Amount for which no account is available due to raids at Delhi		39 0 3
15. Library		23 1 6
16. Furniture		331 0 6
17. Advances:—		
As per list enclosed		2625 2 0
18. Closing balance:—		
In Office	3103 11 0	
In Bank	35 4 5	
Postage in hand	60 14 6	3199 13 11
		<hr/> 30775 7 5 <hr/>

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant
 24-7-'31

J. NEHRU
General Secretary
 24-7-'31

R. K. TEWARI
Auditor
 24-7-'31

ITEM No. 17 ADVANCES

	Rs. a. p.
1. Syt. B. Raja Rau	87 8 0
2. „ Abdul Waheed	130 0 0
3. „ Avadhesh Nandan Sahay	11 10 6
4. „ Jaya Prakash Narayan	342 10 6
5. „ Ram Kumar Shastri	180 0 0
6. „ Raghavachari	165 13 0
7. „ R. C. Pande	5 0 0
8. „ Ramakrishnaiah	80 0 0
9. „ Haridas Mazumdar	20 0 0
10. „ Kashi Ram	10 0 0

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
11. " Siva Ram		50 0 0
12. " Ram Nath Tandon		32 0 0
13. " Smt. Sarojini Naidu		202 12 0
14. " Syt. Ayi Tendulkar		600 0 0
<i>Suspense Account:</i>		
15. Syt. Sen-Gupta	300 0 0	
16. Dr. Syed Mahmud	407 12 0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2625 2 0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Items Nos. 3, 7, 8, 13 and 16 have since been paid completely.

Item No. 14. This amount is written off as per resolution of the Working Committee which met at Swaraj Bhawan, on January 1, 1931.

Item No. 2. This is being repaid at the rate of Rs. 10 per month and has now been reduced to Rs. 60.

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant
24-7-'31

J. NEHRU
General Secretary
24-7-'31

R. K. TEWARI
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24-7-'31

PART II
WORKING COMMITTEE
SUMMARIES OF PROCEEDINGS

Karachi, April 1 and 2, 1931

The new Working Committee met at Mahatma Gandhi's tent, Harchandrai Nagar, Karachi, on April 1 and 2, 1931. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Presiding.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. NATIONAL FLAG COMMITTEE

Resolved

Whereas the national flag now in vogue has gained popularity by usage and convention and whereas objection has been taken to three colours in the flag on the ground that they are conceived on a communal basis the Working Committee hereby appoints the following as a committee for the purpose of examining the objections and recommending a flag for the acceptance of the Congress. The Committee shall have the authority to take such evidence as it may consider necessary and to send its report and recommendations to the Working Committee on or before July 31, 1931.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
Dr. N. S. Hardikar
Syt. D. B. Kalilkar
Master Tara Singh
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya will be the convener and three members will form a quorum.

2. BHAGAT SINGH CREMATION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

Whereas allegations have been made in the press to the effect that the remains of the late Sardar Bhagat Singh and Syts. Rajguru and Sukh Dev were mutilated and were not properly cremated and were otherwise dealt with in an insulting manner and great public indignation has been expressed by reason of those allegations, the Working Committee appoints the following as a committee to examine those allegations forthwith and to take such evidence as may be necessary and to report to the Working Committee on or before the 30th inst.

Pandit K. Santanam
 Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri
 Dr. Satyapal
 Malik Barkat Ali
 Mr. Jiwanlal Kapoor
 Lala Raizada Hansraj

Dr. Satyapal will act as convener.

3. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

In view of the proviso to the Congress Resolution No. 15 the Working Committee hereby appoints the following as a committee to invite opinion and suggestions from Provincial Congress Committees and other bodies and persons and to report and recommend to the Working Committee on or before May 31 next such revision, amendment or addition as in its opinion may be necessary to make the resolution fuller and more exhaustive:

Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar
 Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
 Syt. S. Satyamurti
 Dr. Pramathanath Banerji
 Syt. Sri Prakasa
 Shri Ramdayalu Sinha
 Prof. Brij Narain

Syt. Sri Prakasa will act as convener and three members will form a quorum.

4. PUBLIC DEBT ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Working Committee appoints a Committee consisting of Mr. D. N. Bahadurji, Prof. K. T. Shah, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and Mr. J. C. Kumarappa (convener) to carry out a scrutiny into the financial transactions of the East India Company and the British Government in India and the so-called Public Debt of India and to report on the obligations which should in future be borne by India or England. The Committee be requested to present its report by the end of May.

5. CONGRESS DELEGATION TO ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

With reference to the Congress Resolution No. 5 appointing the delegation to the Round Table Conference, the Working Committee is of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi should be the sole delegate on behalf of the Congress.

6. DEPUTATION ON COMMUNAL QUESTION

The Working Committee decided to send a deputation consisting of the following persons to Delhi to meet the Muslim leaders to settle the communal question:

Mahatma Gandhi
 Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
 Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

7. POLITICAL PRISONERS

With reference to Resolution No. 3 of the Congress Mr. Nariman is hereby appointed to collect from all the provinces the names, addresses, occupations, sentences and the nature of offences of the prisoners and others covered by the resolution.

8. VACANCIES IN COMMITTEES

If any of the members of the several sub-committees refuses to act as member, then the president will fill up the vacancy.

9. A RESOLUTION POSTPONED

With reference to Hindu-Muslim Unity resolution sent in by Messrs Sundarlal, Manzar Ali Sokhta and Abdur-Rahim, in view of the Congress resolution further proceeding is postponed.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Bombay, June 9-11, 1931

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Mani Bhuvan, Bombay, on June 9, 10 and 11, 1931.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. BENGAL ELECTION DISPUTES

In view of the local situation that has arisen in Bengal in connection with the Provincial Congress Committee elections, and in view of charges being made generally in connection with the affairs of the B. P. C. C. and in view of counter-charges, the Working Committee, after having heard Syts. J. M. Sen-Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose and with their consent, appoints Syt. Madhavrao S. Aney to be the sole arbitrator to entertain all the matters that might be referred to him by the respective parties and to give his final decisions thereon; provided that the appointment of the arbitrator shall not be deemed to cause the suspension of the elections now going on except that it shall be open to the arbitrator, on sufficient cause being shown, to suspend the elections.

2. CONGRESS PARTICIPATION IN THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Working Committee hopes that the efforts that are now being made to secure an honourable and satisfactory settlement of the communal problem will meet with success, but the Committee is of opinion that, even should these efforts unfortunately fail, in order to avoid any possibility of the Congress attitude being misunderstood in any shape or form, other conditions being favourable, Mahatma Gandhi

should represent the Congress at the Round Table Conference, if thereto required, for the presentation of the Congress position.

3. CERTIFICATION OF SHOPS

The Committee does not approve of the policy of Congress organisations issuing certificates to shops dealing in cloth, except those dealing exclusively in khaddar, and the Committee advises those organisations which have already issued such certificates to withdraw them.

The Committee also does not approve of the policy of issuing certificates by the Congress to weaving handlooms, except those using handspun yarn, and such certificates as have been issued should be withdrawn.

4. BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

This Committee has noted with regret that some Congress organisations have infringed the directions issued by it in regard to the programme of boycott of foreign cloth by permitting the sale of the existing stock of foreign cloth for certain periods. The Committee calls upon these organisations immediately to cancel all such arrangements as they are against the declared policy of the Congress, namely, the complete prohibition of both the sale in India of the existing stocks and of the importation of any further foreign cloth. In the event of any infringement of the directions of the Committee in regard to the programme of the Foreign Cloth Boycott, the President of the Congress is authorised to take disciplinary action against the Committee or the individual concerned as the case may be.

5. PRISONERS NOT COVERED BY THE TRUCE

As required by the Resolution No. 3 of the last meeting of the Working Committee, Mr. K. F. Nariman submitted the list of prisoners not covered by the Truce.

It was decided that the list be forwarded to Mahatma Gandhi for necessary action.

6. N. W. F. P. C. C. AND OFFICIAL COMMITTEES

With reference to the inquiry of the Frontier P. C. C., it was resolved that the evidence may be led before the official Frontier Rules and Regulations Committee and the Frontier Revision Enquiry Committee, if there is still time and opportunity available for the satisfactory presentation of the popular case.

7. SWADESHI BOARD

The Committee resolved that a Swadeshi Board be formed to help the Swadeshi Movement in every way possible, by means of preparation of a Directory of Swadeshi goods, by propaganda and otherwise. This Board will deal with Swadeshi articles other than cloth. The Committee authorised the President, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to recommend the names of members of this Board and frame the definition of "Swadeshi," for submission to the Working Committee at its next meeting.

The Working Committee is of opinion that Congress Committees as such should not make themselves responsible for issuing certificates to manufacturers or dealers in Swadeshi goods.

8. CONGRESS LIBRARY

It was resolved that the Library of the A. I. C. C. should be removed from the Congress House, Bombay to the Allahabad Office of the A. I. C. C.

9. ACCOUNTS

The monthly accounts from January to April, 1931 were submitted and passed. It was resolved that the Ahmedabad office accounts should be submitted to the next meeting and that thereafter the same should be amalgamated with the Allahabad office accounts.

10. AUDITORS

Messrs Dalal and Shah were re-appointed as auditors in anticipation of confirmation by the A. I. C. C.

11. ARTIFICIAL SILK

It was resolved that the questions regarding Artificial Silk raised by the Swadeshi Sabha, Ahmedabad should be referred to the President and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj for disposal.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Bombay, July 7 to 12, 1931

The Working Committee met at Mani Bhawan, Gamdevi, Bombay from July 7 to 12, 1931.

1. INDO-BRITISH FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS COMMITTEE

The Working Committee having received the report of the Committee appointed by it on financial obligations between Great Britain and India, places on record its thanks to the authors of the report and appreciates the great pains which they have bestowed on their work. The Secretaries are authorised to arrange for the early publication of the report.

2. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

The report of the Fundamental Rights Committee was placed before the Working Committee. The Working Committee thanked the members of the Committee for their labours and resolved that the Secretaries should give due publicity to the report and receive such further suggestions on the subject as may be sent by public bodies and individuals.

It was further resolved that the report be placed before the A. I. C. C. with such recommendations as the Working Committee may make on it.

3. HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL

In view of misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the relation of the Hindustani Seva Dal with the Congress and in view of the fact that unauthorised volunteer organisa-

tions are working in various parts of the country in the name of the Congress, the Working Committee resolves that

1. The Hindustani Seva Dal is hereby recognised as the Central Volunteer Organisation of the Congress, working directly under the authority of the Working Committee or such person or persons as it may appoint in this behalf, and with the following functions:

(a) It shall act as a duly authorised institution for the training of officers and instructors.

(b) It shall enrol and train recruits in Karnatak, or such other place as may be determined by the Working Committee from time to time, and they will form a permanent Central Corps for officers' training and will be liable to serve wherever necessary. It may also have training centres and camps for officers and instructors in other suitable places.

(c) It shall lend the services of officers and instructors for provinces at the latter's expense.

(d) It shall have power to form volunteer corps in provinces wherever so required by Provincial Congress Committees.

2. All Provincial Congress Committees are hereby authorised and required to form duly recognised volunteer corps.

3. No such corps shall be recognised unless all the members are members of the Congress and conform to the Congress creed and whose officers are holders of certificates from the Hindustani Seva Dal.

4. No Volunteer Board or corps not previously recognised by the Working Committee shall work in any Congress provinces in the name of or on behalf of the Congress.

5. Jawaharlal Nehru is appointed the member in charge on behalf of the Working Committee of the said Central Volunteer Organisation of the Congress and N. S. Hardikar, the Organising Secretary thereof and they will serve during the pleasure of the Working Committee. The member-in-charge shall frame the rules of the said organisation so as to bring it in conformity with this resolution of the Working Committee and shall define the duties and qualifications of officers and members of volunteer corps, provided that such

rules shall take effect after being first sanctioned by the Working Committee, and on the acceptance by the All-India Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal of this resolution.

4. COMMUNAL PROBLEMS

The following statement was issued by the Working Committee:

However much it may have failed in the realisation, the Congress has, from its very inception, set up pure nationalism as its ideal. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers. The following Lahore resolution was the culminating point in its advance towards nationalism:

"In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

Hence the Congress is precluded from setting forth any communal solution of the communal problem. But at this critical juncture in the history of the nation, it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest for adoption by the country a solution, though communal in appearance, yet as nearly national as possible and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. The Working Committee has therefore after full and free discussion passed the following scheme:—

1. (a) The article in constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion, and religious endowments.

(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the federal government.

2. The franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women.

(NOTE—The Working Committee is committed to Adult Franchise by the Karachi resolution of the Congress and cannot entertain any alternative franchise. In view however of misapprehensions in some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community).

3. (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

(b) For the Hindus in Sind, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provinces, and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25 per cent of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

4. Appointments shall be made by non-party Public Service Commissions which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications, and which shall have due regard to efficiency of the public service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in the public services of the country.

5. In the formation of federal and provincial cabinets interests of minority communities should be recognised by convention.

6. The North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of government and administration as other provinces.

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate province, provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated province.

8. The future constitution of the country shall be federal. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units, unless, on further examination, it is found to be against the best interests of India.

The Working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on undiluted communalism and undiluted nationalism. Whilst on the one hand the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will endorse the scheme, on the other, it assures those who take extreme views and cannot adopt it that the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to by the Lahore Resolution, accept without reservation any other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned.

5. RETRENCHMENT ON RAILWAYS

The Working Committee, having carefully considered the situation in respect of retrenchment on the railways, it appears to it that, notwithstanding technical objections and precedents to the contrary, the demand of the All India Railwaymen's Federation for a Board of Conciliation to examine the policies and methods of retrenchment, specially so as to avoid the discharge of the lower paid staff, is just and reasonable.

6. PLEDGE FOR EXCLUSION OF FOREIGN CLOTH AND YARN

Resolved that any pledge in connection with the exclusion of foreign cloth and yarn, inconsistent with the following pledge, shall be held to be invalid:—

"We pledge ourselves that we shall observe the following conditions so long as the Working Committee of the Congress does not give express permission by resolution to do otherwise:

1. We undertake not to purchase or sell any foreign yarn made from cotton, wool or silk or cloth manufactured from such yarn.
2. We undertake not to purchase or sell any yarn or cloth manufactured by mills that have not accepted the Congress conditions.
3. We undertake not to sell in this country any foreign yarn made of cotton, wool or silk or cloth manufactured from such yarn or silk that may be lying with us."

7. ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY COMMITTEE

The Working Committee is of opinion that the work of the Anti-Untouchability Committee, which had merged in the campaign of last year, should be revived and therefore instructs Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj to take the necessary steps for the purpose. The Committee shall have such powers of co-option and the like that may be required.

8. TEXTILE MILLS EXEMPTION COMMITTEE AND LABOUR CONDITIONS

The Working Committee is of opinion that the Textile Mills Exemption Committee should endeavour, wherever possible and necessary, to prevent by amicable arrangement any penalisation or victimization of labour in the mills which have signed the Congress declaration and to help in the bettering of labour conditions in these mills.

9. KARACHI RECEPTION COMMITTEE AND A. I. C. C. QUOTA

The Working Committee regrets that the Reception Committee of the Karachi Congress has not yet acted in accordance with Article XVII, Clause (b) of the Congress Constitution and made the payments provided therein and requests the Working Committee of the Reception Committee to pay to the Treasurer of the Congress the quota of the A. I. C. C. without further delay.

10. BERLIN INFORMATION BUREAU

Read Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar's letter dated June 7, 1931. Resolved that £ 20 be sent to him to pay off the outstanding liabilities of the Berlin Information Bureau and that the Bureau be closed.

11. ALL PARTIES ACCOUNTS

Resolved that the balance of the All Parties account amounting to Rs. 5,85-5-11 be transferred to the general funds of the Congress.

12. AHMEDABAD OFFICE ACCOUNTS

The accounts of the Ahmedabad office of the A. I. C. C. from April 23, 1931, the date of the opening of the office, to June 30, 1931, were submitted and passed.

13. CAWNPORE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE ACCOUNTS

The Secretary submitted the audited accounts of the Cawnpore Enquiry Committee. The Working Committee sanctioned the expenditure so far incurred amounting to Rs. 2,170-4-9 and resolved that as Rs. 900 have already been sent by the A. I. C. C. Office and Rs. 50 have been received by donation, the balance of Rs. 1,220-4-9 be now paid to the Committee.

14. AUTHORITY TO TREASURER

Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer, be empowered to operate on the accounts already opened in the banks in the name of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund and further Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is hereby empowered to appoint from time to time an attorney or attorneys who shall jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund Accounts as are hereby granted to the said Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Provided however that the devolution of any of the said powers does not absolve the treasurer from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

15. STATEMENT REGARDING BREACHES OF THE DELHI SETTLEMENT

The following statement was issued on behalf of the Working Committee:

Among the important things that the Committee considered was the serious question of the complaints received from various provinces about breaches of the Delhi Settlement by provincial authorities. It is unnecessary for the Committee to say more on this question at present as it is taking necessary steps in the matter and is not without hope of obtaining relief.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Bombay, August 4 to 7, 9 and 11 to 14

The Working Committee met at Mani Bhawan, Bombay on August 4 to 7, 9, and 11 to 14, 1931.

The audited statement of accounts of the A. I. C. C. office from October 1, 1929 to December 31, 1930 was placed before the Committee. The following resolutions were passed:

1. EXPENDITURE SANCTIONED

The excess expenditure of Rs. 937-1-9 under "travelling expenses" and Rs. 127-11-9 under "miscellaneous" incurred in 1930, was sanctioned.

The purchase of an electric duplicating machine for Rs. 1,025 was also sanctioned.

2. LONDON BRANCH

In view of the fact that the London Branch of the Congress has, in spite of warning, repeatedly acted contrary to the fundamental policy of the Congress, and has not carried out the directions sent to it from time to time, the Working Committee hereby disaffiliates the branch.

3. NATIONAL FLAG

Having considered the Report of the Flag Committee the Working Committee appreciates its labours and endorses its view that the National Flag should not bear any communal significance and that it should be distinctive and not capable of being mistaken for the flag of any other country. The Working Committee feels, however, that it would be desirable to have as little change as possible in the existing flag. The Committee therefore recommends to the A. I. C. C. for its adoption the following change:

The flag to be three coloured, horizontally arranged, as before, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green in the order stated here from top to bottom, with the spinning wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe; it being

understood that the colours have no communal significance, but that saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white peace and truth, and green shall represent faith and chivalry, and the spinning wheel the hope of the masses.

4. BHAGAT SINGH CREMATION COMMITTEE

The Working Committee having read the papers and draft report sent by the convener of the Bhagat Singh Cremation Enquiry Committee regrets to place on record its opinion that the Committee was not able to finish its enquiry within the appointed time, and that the witnesses repeatedly requested to appear before the Committee failed to do so, in spite of their promise to do so, and in spite of their having made allegations on the strength of which the Committee was appointed. From the record before the Committee it has come to the conclusion that there is no warrant for the serious allegations that were made.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS TO A. I. C. C.

The Working Committee recommended to the A. I. C. C. resolution on Public Violence, Flag Day, Constitution and Fundamental Rights, which the A. I. C. C. adopted after making some changes in the last two resolutions.

6. NORTH-WEST FRONTIER P. C. C., THE AFGHAN JIRGA AND THE KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

The Committee having conferred with the representatives of the N.-W. F. Province resolved on the reconstitution of the Frontier P. C. C. and the incorporation of the Afghan Jirga in it. It was further resolved that Khudai Khidmatgars should become a part of the Congress Volunteer Organisation. The following statement, embodying the decisions of the Working Committee, was issued on behalf of the Committee:

Some misunderstandings having arisen in regard to Congress work in the North-West Frontier Province and the relations between the Provincial Congress organisation and the Afghan Jirga and the Khudai Khidmatgars, the Working Committee met Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khan Aligul Khan, Hakim Abdul Jalil, Mr. Peer Baksh, Khan Amir

Mohammad Khan and Shrimati Nikho Devi and discussed future work in the N.-W. F. Province. As a result of these discussions misunderstandings were removed and the Frontier leaders agreed to work together in accordance with certain decisions arrived at. It was pointed out that the Afghan Jirga was working the Congress programme and the Khudai Khidmatgars were acting as volunteers for giving effect to this programme. But as the Afghan Jirga had a separate constitution of its own it was no part of the Congress organisation. Confusion had also arisen owing to the use of a variety of flags by the Jirga.

It was agreed by the Frontier leaders that the present P. C. C. and the Afghan Jirga should coalesce and the new provincial organisation, formed in accordance with the Congress constitution, should represent the Congress in the Province. This newly elected committee will be the Frontier P. C. C. In the language of the Province it may be described as the Frontier Province Jirga. Similarly the district and the local Congress Committees may be described as local Jirgas, the fact that they are Congress Committees being also clearly stated. The Khudai Khidmatgars, it was agreed, should become Congress volunteer organisations in accordance with the Working Committee's recent resolution. The name Khudai Khidmatgars may however be retained. The whole organisation should be conducted in accordance with the constitution, rules and programme of the Congress. The flag to be used henceforth will of course be the National Flag.

At the request of the Working Committee the Frontier Leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, has undertaken to shoulder the burden of leading the Congress movement in the Province.

7. HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL RULES

Whereas the Working Committee has resolved that the Hindustani Seva Dal shall be the Central Volunteer Organisation of the Congress, and has defined its function, and laid down the conditions under which volunteer corps may be recognised, the following further rules are framed and sanctioned by the Committee for the control of the Seva Dal and the proper organisation of Congress volunteers.

1. The work of the Hindustani Seva Dal shall be done

by a Central Board consisting of the member-in-charge, the organising secretary and three others to be nominated by the Working Committee. The member-in-charge shall be the chairman and the organising secretary the secretary of this Board.

2. The Working Committee shall nominate, on the recommendation of the Central Volunteer Board, a Teaching and Examining Board of five persons. This Board shall arrange for the training and instruction of volunteers and officers and for the issue of certificates.

3. There shall be four grades of certificates:

- (i) For volunteers.
- (ii) For instructors.
- (iii) For junior officers.
- (iv) For senior officers.

4. The Central Board shall arrange for the examination of and the issue of certificates to all persons qualified to receive them. The examination may take place at the headquarters of the Provincial Congress Committee or of the volunteer units in the province, the expenses in either case being borne by the Provincial Congress Committee. For examination at the headquarters of the Dal there shall be paid a fee of Re. 1 for each officer or instructor to be examined.

5. No one can be appointed officer who cannot produce a certificate of service for at least one year as a volunteer or worker in some province and in some Congress organisation, and has not passed the examinations prescribed by the Central Board.

6. A 'Volunteer' or 'Sainik' shall mean any one, male or female, of the age of 18 and over but not older than 45, who has signed the pledge given in Rule 7 below and is a member of a primary Congress organisation and is capable of performing the following services:

- (i) to work for the Congress programme
- (ii) to keep order at meetings
- (iii) to regulate processions
- (iv) to render first aid
- (v) to serve Congress delegates, guests, etc.

(vi) to keep watch by day or night and such other work as may be entrusted by the officer-in-charge.

7. The following shall be the pledge to be signed by every volunteer:

"I, _____, a Congress volunteer, solemnly pledge myself to strive for the attainment of Purna Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.

I shall obey the order of my superior officers faithfully and to the best of my ability.

I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to promote peace and goodwill among all classes and communities of India.

I shall not expect any payment or compensation for my service or for the consequences of such service.

I shall undergo such training as may be given to me by the Congress authorities."

8. Any volunteer or officer not conforming to the discipline of his or her organisation, or not carrying out the policy and programme of the Congress, shall be liable to dismissal by the organisation to which he or she belongs.

9. No officer or member of a Congress volunteer organisation on the active list shall take part in the party politics of Congress organisations.

10. No volunteer shall belong to any communal organisation or to any other political organisation.

11. The Central Board shall have the power to frame bye-laws not inconsistent with the foregoing and for matters not covered hereby, provided that these bye-laws shall be submitted to the Working Committee at its first meeting after the passing of the bye-laws and be liable to be altered, amended or repealed.

12. (a) Transitory Provision.

Till such time as the Working Committee appoints the additional members of the Central Board and the Teaching and Examining Board, the member-in-charge and the organising secretary shall constitute the Central Board and shall arrange for the teaching and examination of volunteers,

instructors and officers and for the issue of certificates.

12. Provincial Congress Committees shall exercise control over their volunteer corps, subject to the general supervision of the Central Board in regard to training and technique of organisation.

13. Provincial Congress Committees may train, wherever possible, boys and girls below 18 and organise them in groups as follows:

Between ages 7 to 12—Balaks-Balikas

Between ages 12 to 18—Kumars-Kumarikas

14. The above rules shall not prevent Congress Committees from organising 'sevaks' especially for the purpose of picketing or other Congress activities. Such sevaks shall sign the pledge given above and shall be given such training as is necessary for the performance of their duties.

15. Nothing in the foregoing rules shall affect the general powers of supervision and control of the Working Committee.

The Working Committee also passed the following resolution: "Provincial Congress Committees shall form women's volunteer corps subject to these rules, in so far as they may be applicable; and in so far as a central women's organisation is concerned the member-in-charge and the organising secretary are called upon to produce a scheme at the next meeting of the Working Committee."

8. DEFINITION OF SWADESHI GOODS

Swadeshi goods, not being cloth or yarn, are those goods which are wholly made in India out of raw-material whether indigenous or imported by a manufacturer with not less than 75% Indian owned share capital, provided that no goods will be considered Swadeshi the manufacture of which is controlled by foreigners.

(NOTE—For the purpose of this definition the word "controlled" refers to Boards of Directors and/or Managing agents.)

It shall be open to the Working Committee to publish a

list from time to time of goods classed as Swadeshi though they may not fully comply with the foregoing definition.

9. TEXTILE MILLS AND TREATMENT OF WORKERS

The Working Committee draws the attention of owners and managers of mills, specially those recognised by the Congress, to the resolution of the Committee dated July 10, 1931, and draws further attention to the fact that the Working Committee has received complaints about the treatment of textile labourers and the growing discontent amongst them, as also of proposed reduction of wages in some mills. The Committee hopes that the owners and managers concerned will remove all causes of discontent. The Committee believes that representing as the Congress does predominantly the interests of the millions of agricultural and industrial workers, any recognition by the Congress of the mills will be inconsistent with this claim, wherever there is proved justification for such complaints.

10. CONGRESS PARTICIPATION IN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Working Committee has carefully considered the correspondence exchanged between the Central Government and various Provincial Governments on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi on the other, upon matters arising out of the Delhi settlement, and has also considered the statement made by Mahatma Gandhi describing the events that led to the correspondence. The Committee notes with regret that there have been, in its opinion, repeated and, in some cases, serious breaches by Provincial Governments of the conditions of the Delhi settlement. A stage was reached when, failing satisfaction, Mahatma Gandhi had asked, with the approval of the Working Committee, for the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate the allegations of breaches and to interpret the terms of the settlement. Such request has now been refused even in matters affecting the vital interests of the peasantry. The Committee has therefore been obliged reluctantly to come to the conclusion that, consistently with the terms of the settlement and the national interest, the

Congress cannot and should not be represented at the Round Table Conference.

11. DELHI SETTLEMENT STILL IN FORCE

In view of the resolution relating to the Congress non-participation in the Round Table Conference passed by the Working Committee on August 13, the Committee desires to make it clear that this resolution should not be construed as ending the Delhi settlement. The Committee therefore advises the Congress organisations and all Congress men to continue to comply, until further instructions, with the terms of the settlement in so far as they are applicable to the Congress.

12. EMERGENCY POWERS TO PRESIDENT

In the event of emergency arising, so as to leave no time for calling the Working Committee, the President is hereby authorised to act in the name of and on behalf of the Working Committee.

13. REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES

The Working Committee having considered the motions about redistribution of provinces referred to it by the A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any consideration and discussion of the subject is premature.

14. NEXT WORKING COMMITTEE

Resolved that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held in Ahmedabad on September 8, 1931.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Bombay, August 6, 7 and 8, 1931

The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on August 6, 7 and 8, 1931. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided.

The Report of the Select Committee on Indo-British

Financial Relations, the Communal Scheme of the Working Committee, and the Audited Statement of accounts of the A. I. C. C. office from October 1, 1929 to December 31, 1930 were placed before the Committee.

The following resolutions were passed:

1. PUBLIC VIOLENCE

The A. I. C. C. deplores the attempted assassination of H. E. the acting Governor of Bombay and the assassination of Judge Garlick in Bengal. While condemning all political murder the A. I. C. C. regards the attempted assassination of the acting Governor of Bombay as the more condemnable inasmuch as it was an act done by a student of a college that had invited the acting Governor as its honoured guest. The A. I. C. C. warns those who secretly or openly approve of or encourage such murders that they retard the progress of the country. The A. I. C. C. calls upon Congress organisations to carry on special propaganda against all acts of public violence even where provocation is given for such deeds. Further the A. I. C. C. appeals to the nationalist press to use all its influence in this behalf.

2. NATIONAL FLAG

The National Flag shall be three coloured, horizontally arranged, as before, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green in the order stated here from top to bottom, with the spinning wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe; it being understood that the colours have no communal significance, but that saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white, peace and truth, and green shall represent faith and chivalry, and the spinning wheel the hope of the masses. The proportions of the flag should be fly to hoist as three to two.

3. FLAG DAY

The All India Congress Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to celebrate August 30, the last Sunday of the month, as Flag Day, and to hoist the new National Flag on that day.

4. CONSTITUENCIES

In view of the growth of the Congress organisation and the difficulties arising from constituencies returning large numbers of members the All India Congress Committee is of opinion that provincial rules should be so framed as to have as far as possible single member constituencies, and in any event constituencies returning not more than five members to Taluqa, Tahsil, District and Provincial Committees. The All India Congress Committee therefore recommends to the P. C. Cs. to frame election rules accordingly and to report such rules to the Working Committee for sanction by September 30, 1931.

5. PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The Provincial contributions to the A. I. C. C. fixed by the Working Committee were confirmed.

6. AUDITORS

The appointment of Messrs Dalal and Shah as auditors to the A. I. C. C. was confirmed.

7. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

The Karachi Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme was varied as follows:

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what "Swaraj," as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress, therefore, declares that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide, or enable the Swaraj Government to provide for the following:

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES

1. (i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and com-

bination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for purposes not opposed to law or morality.

(ii) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

(iii) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(iv) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen, by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(vii) Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf.

(viii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

(ix) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(x) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(xi) The State shall provide for free and compulsory primary education.

(xii) The State shall confer no titles.

(xiii) There shall be no capital punishment.

(xiv) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

LABOUR

2. (a) The organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice, to the end that it may secure a decent standard of living.

(b) The State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them, by suitable legislation and in other ways, a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness, and unemployment.

3. Labour to be freed from serfdom and conditions bordering on serfdom.

4. Protection of women workers, and specially, adequate provision for leave during maternity period.

5. Children of school going age shall not be employed in mines and factories.

6. Peasants and workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE

7. The system of land tenure and revenue and rent shall be reformed and an equitable adjustment made of the burden on agricultural land, immediately giving relief to the smaller peasantry, by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them, and in case of uneconomic holdings, exempting them from rent so long as necessary, with such relief as may be just and necessary to holders of small estates affected by such exemption or reduction in rent, and to the same end, imposing a graded tax on net incomes from land above a reasonable minimum.

8. Death duties on a graduated scale shall be levied on property above a fixed minimum.

9. There shall be a drastic reduction of military expenditure so as to bring it down to at least one half of the present scale.

10. Expenditure and salaries in civil departments shall

be largely reduced. No servant of the State, other than specially employed experts and the like, shall be paid above a certain fixed figure, which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.

11. No duty shall be levied on salt manufactured in India.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMME

12. The State shall protect indigenous cloth; and for this purpose pursue the policy of exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country and adopt such other measures as may be found necessary. The State shall also protect other indigenous industries, when necessary, against foreign competition.

13. Intoxicating drinks and drugs shall be totally prohibited, except for medicinal purposes.

14. Currency and exchange shall be regulated in the national interest.

15. The State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.

16. Relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury-direct and indirect.

17. The State shall provide for the military training of citizens so as to organise a means of national defence apart from the regular military forces.

8. DISAFFILIATION OF LONDON BRANCH

Resolved that in accordance with the resolution of the Working Committee, the London Branch of the Congress be disaffiliated.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Ahmedabad, September 8 to 11, 1931

The Working Committee met at the Gujrat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad from September 8 to 11, 1931.

1. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

In view of the uncertainty of the political situation the Working Committee recommends that the time for the nomination and final election of the President of the next Congress be extended to November 15, and December 31 respectively.

2. RATIFICATION OF PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN AN EMERGENCY

The Working Committee having considered the facts and circumstances that have arisen since it passed its resolution on August 13, 1931 in Bombay deciding that the Congress should not participate in the Round Table Conference, and in particular the agreement dated August 27 entered into by Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress, and representatives of the Government of India in Simla, as contained in the communique issued by the Government and the letters attached thereto, and having heard the President thereon, confirms the said agreement, and further ratifies the action of the President, on behalf of the Committee, in an emergency which did not permit the calling of a meeting of the Committee in time to deal with the new situation that had arisen.

3. WAGES AND WORKING HOURS OF TEXTILE WORKERS

In pursuance of the resolution of the Committee on Textile Mills and Treatment of Workers passed on August 13, 1931 the Committee authorises the Textile Mills Exemption Committee to ask such mills as are working more than 10 hours a day to adopt a ten hour day, and those mills which have reduced the wages of their operatives to restore these wages. In case of non-compliance with the request after due notice and opportunity have been given the Exemption

Committee is further authorised to remove their names from the list of approved mills.

4. ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN VOLUNTEERS

The Working Committee having considered the report of the Member-in-Charge and Organising Secretary of the Seva Dal on the organisation of a Central Women's Volunteer organisation accept the recommendations made in the report that, pending the appointment of a Central Women's Committee or other arrangements being made, a woman organiser be appointed to work in an advisory capacity on the lines suggested in the report. The Central Board is authorised to make this appointment and to take all other necessary steps in this behalf. Such organiser will act under the supervision of the Central Board.

5. H. S. DAL BUDGET

The provisional budget of the Hindustani Seva Dal was placed before the Committee. It was *resolved* that the budget be reframed upto the end of December 1931 and presented again after charge has been taken over of the assets of the old Seva Dal. *Resolved* further that meanwhile the Member in Charge be authorised to draw up to Rs. 2,500 from the Treasurer.

6. TEXTILE MILLS EXEMPTION COMMITTEE

Resolved that the Textile Mills Exemption Committee be reconstituted and should consist of the following:—

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj (Bombay); Shri Mathuradas Tricumbji (Bombay); Shri Jawaharlal Nehru; Mrs. Saraladevi Ambalal (Ahmedabad) and Shri Shankerlal Banker (Ahmedabad).

Shri Shankerlal Banker is appointed Secretary of the Committee.

7. PRESS BILL

While the Working Committee has all along opposed and condemned violence, it considers the Press bill now before the

Assembly to be a drastic and wholly unwarranted measure in that it constitutes an extension of the penal law and an attack upon property and the liberty of the Press.

The Committee declares that the provisions of the bill are so wide and vague that "violence" may be made to comprise any act or activity on the part of the public, and has good reasons for its apprehensions in view of the interpretation put upon the word by the Government in the matter of the truce prisoners still in jail.

Further the Working Committee looks upon the proposed measure as a re-enactment of the Press Ordinance of last year in a much more expanded form and therefore considers it a war measure sought to be re-enacted during truce time and accordingly as a distinct breach of the Delhi Settlement.

8. BREACHES OF SETTLEMENT

In case of breaches of the Settlement on the part of Government officials or other matters of complaint, the President or the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned should endeavour to obtain relief from the representatives of the local Government. In case relief is not forthcoming the matter should be referred to the President of the All India Congress Committee.

Information in regard to all important matters should however be promptly sent by the Provincial Congress Committee to the All India Congress Committee office at Ahmedabad.

9. GRANT FOR OVERSEAS WORK

Resolved that a monthly grant of Rs. 25 to Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi for Overseas work be sanctioned for six months.

10. INDIAN COLLIERIES

Whereas Coal Mining is of great importance as a basic industry, essential for the development of the industrial life of the country in all directions, the Committee is of opinion that all possible encouragement should be extended to Indian enterprise in this field. The Committee, therefore, recom-

mends to all industrial concerns in this country, particularly the Textile Mills, to confine their purchase of coal as far as possible to the produce of the Indian owned and managed collieries.

Resolved further that an authorised list of Indian owned and managed collieries, subscribing to the Congress conditions be prepared.

11. DECLARATION BY INDIAN COLLIERIES

Resolved that the Indian Mining Federation be requested to submit a list of Indian Collieries the proprietors or agents of which agree to fulfil the following conditions:

We hereby declare:—

- (1) That we have full sympathy with the national aspirations of the people.
- (2) That not less than 75 per cent of the share capital of the Company is held by Indians.
- (3) That not less than 75 per cent of the Directors of the Company are, and will continue to be, Indians.
- (4) That there is no foreign interest in the Managing Agents' firm.
- (5) That the proprietors or partners of the Agents' firm are not interested in the import trade of foreign yarn or foreign piecegoods or of foreign coal or non-swadeshi coal.
- (6) That we will assist in the propagation of Swadeshi by refraining from exploiting in our own interest the situation arising out of the movement in respect of price or quality. We undertake to make available the produce of our mines at reasonable rates and not exceeding those that prevailed on or about September 11, 1931.

In pursuance of the above declaration we hereby undertake to do as follows:—

- (1) No person connected with the management of the mills will engage himself in propaganda hostile to the national movement.

- (2) Recruitment of staff will be restricted to Indians, except for special reasons.
- (3) We shall pass as early as possible the insurance banking and shipping business of our Company to Indian Companies.
- (4) We shall henceforth employ, as far as possible, Indians as our Auditors, Solicitors, Shipping Agents, buying or selling brokers, contractors, or suppliers of goods required for our business.
- (5) We shall purchase for our business, as far as possible, articles of Indian manufacture and will only buy such foreign articles as are indispensable and as cannot be replaced by Indian Swadeshi. (List of such articles as are indispensable is enclosed herewith).
- (6) Persons connected with the management of our firm will wear Swadeshi cloth.
- (7) We shall secure to the operatives of our mines a satisfactory scale of wages and satisfactory conditions of work and life.
- (8) We undertake to supply every year the audited balance sheets of our mines to the Congress.

Name of the Company

Address

Name of the Agents or Proprietors .

12. ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

Resolved that a committee consisting of Messrs J. C. Kumarappa, C. H. Sopariwalla and Kishorilal Mushruwalla be appointed to report on the method of keeping accounts by Congress Committees and the audit and inspection of such accounts. The committee will also suggest forms for the purpose of account keeping. Shri Kumarappa will act as the convener and the committee will send their report by the end of October, 1931.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Delhi, October 27, 28 and 29, 1931

The Working Committee met in Delhi on 27, 28 and 29 October.

Audit and inspection reports of the following provinces were placed before the Committee: Ajmer, Delhi, Punjab, Assam, Bengal, Utkal and Andhra. The Accounts of the A. I. C. C. office for July, August and September were passed. The following resolutions were passed:

1. AWARD IN BENGAL ELECTION DISPUTE

The Working Committee records the report and award dated September 25, 1931 on the Bengal disputes, of Shri M. S. Aney.

The Committee thanks Shri Aney for his services in this connection and for bringing about a settlement between the parties.

In pursuance of the settlement Shri M. S. Aney is appointed to supervise the ensuing general elections in Bengal to be held in accordance with the terms of the award.

2. PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTION

Resolved that the A. I. C. C. members of the provinces that have not paid the annual contribution due to the A. I. C. C. shall not be permitted to take part in the meetings of the A. I. C. C. and that the defaulting Provincial Congress Committees be notified accordingly.

3. REV. OTTAMA'S VISIT TO CHINA

The Committee sanctioned Rs. 400 towards the expenses incurred by Rev. Ottama on his visit to China in 1929 to attend the state funeral of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen on behalf of the Congress.

4. TEXTILE MILLS COMMITTEE

The Textile Mills Committee's expenses of Rs. 538-1-9 upto 31-8-31 were sanctioned.

The Textile Mills Committee's budget for Rs. 870 for four months ending 31-12-31 was also sanctioned.

S. BAGHELKHAND DISTRICT

Resolved that Baghelkhand district at present included in the Ajmer-Rajputana province be transferred to the C. P. Hindi province.

6. AUDITING INSPECTOR

The Committee confirmed the appointment of Shri Radha Krishna Tewari as Auditing Inspector of the A. I. C. C. till the end of December 1931.

7. CAWNPORE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE EXPENSES

The Committee sanctioned the Cawnpore Enquiry Committee's further expenses amounting to Rs. 818-9-6.

8. NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS

In view of the fact that the last Congress elections were held only a few months ago and it is not desirable to hold fresh general elections so soon after the last elections, it is resolved that all local and provincial elections, except as provided for below, shall be postponed till such time after the Congress as may be notified hereafter. The members of the All-India Congress Committee however shall be freshly elected by all Provincial Congress Committees before January 31, 1932. Provided that in the case of Bengal, local and provincial elections, shall be held in accordance with Syt. M. S. Aney's award; in the case of the Punjab local and provincial elections will take place this year in accordance with the normal procedure, as the elections on the last occasion were largely based on arrangements between various groups; and in the case of the North-West Frontier Province such local and provincial elections shall be held so as to complete the process of reorganisation by the end of January, 1932.

9. NEW TAXATION

The Working Committee is of opinion that the financial

policy proposed by the Government of India in balancing its budget by imposing fresh and heavy taxes during a time of great economic depression, instead of taking adequate measures to bring about a drastic reduction of expenditure long overdue, is a further proof of the urgent necessity for the immediate transference of the government to the Indian people themselves.

This Committee strongly protests in particular against the proposal to impose an additional duty on salt, as a breach of faith by the Government of India in regard to the implications in the Delhi Settlement, of a complete and early relief of the burden on the poor in this respect.

10. CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE POLICY

The Working Committee is of opinion that the currency and exchange policy recently adopted by the Government of India in complete disregard of Indian opinion and at the behest of the British Government, linking the rupee to the pound sterling, instead of leaving it to find its own level in terms of gold, is conceived solely in the interests of Britain so as to provide, *inter alia*, a back door preference for British imports into India, and is calculated to work against the interests of the masses of India, inasmuch as it depletes the already too slender gold resources of this country and is bound to embarrass India both in regard to the early establishment of a Reserve Bank and the due settlement of her foreign obligations.

The Working Committee warns the British Government that the responsibility for pursuing such a selfish policy should rest entirely on its own shoulders and that the injurious results accruing to India therefrom would be duly taken into account in the settlement of financial obligations between India and England.

11. CHITTAGONG

The Working Committee having considered the report of the non-official Committee of Enquiry on the happenings in the town and district of Chittagong on August 31 last and the three subsequent days, records its severe condemna-

tion of the local police and magistracy who, with the assistance of certain non-official Europeans and hooligans, inflicted terrible losses and indignities on innocent people in pursuance of a policy of terrorisation.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that there was in reality no communal strife in Chittagong in spite of deliberate efforts to create one by the employment of hooligans whose activities were intended to give the occurrences a communal colour.

The Committee is of opinion that the least that the Government of Bengal should do is to compensate those who have suffered, and to punish all those whose responsibility for the incidents is established.

12. HIJLI

The Working Committee records its deep sorrow at the tragedy of the Hijli Detention Camp for detenus, resulting in the death of two and injury to 20 detenus. The Committee, while awaiting the report of the Commission of enquiry appointed by Government before expressing its final opinion on these tragic occurrences, feels that the Government is specially responsible for the lives and well-being of unarmed men detained in custody by Government without trial, against whose detention the nation has for long protested; and callous disregard of this fundamental duty of Government must be met with punishment of those who are guilty.

13. ALLAHABAD DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S APPLICATION TO START SATYAGRAHA

The Committee has considered the statements of the Presidents of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee and the Allahabad District Congress Committee about the agrarian situation in the United Provinces and the resolution of the Allahabad District Congress Committee asking for permission to offer satyagraha as against the present agrarian policy of the United Provinces Government and, in particular, the oppressive collection of rent and revenue at a time when the agriculturists are unable to pay on account of acute economic depression.

The Committee realises that the agriculturists of the United Provinces have been subjected to a great deal of hardship and oppression, particularly in the course of the past five months, and that they have now to face a grave crisis. The Committee feels that it is the duty of the Congress to assist them in every possible way in removing the economic hardships they suffer from. In the opinion of the Committee however the question of defensive action should first be considered by the Provincial Congress Committee. The Committee therefore refers the application to the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee and in the event of the Provincial Congress Committee being of opinion that it is a fit case for defensive satyagraha on the part of the agriculturists, in terms of the Simla Agreement dated August 27, this Committee authorises the President to consider the application and to give such decision on it as he may consider necessary.

14. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The date fixed for submitting first nominations for the Presidentship of the next Congress is extended from November 15 to 30.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Bombay, November 7 and 8, 1931

An emergent meeting of the Working Committee was held in Bombay on November 7 and 8, 1931.

Audit and inspection reports of Tamil Nad and Karnatak were placed before the Committee.

The report of the work of the Hindustani Seva Dal from August 10, 1931 to October 31, 1931, presented by the Central Board of the Dal, was also placed before the Committee.

1. BUDGET SANCTIONS

In view of the large expenditure incurred in communicating the terms of the Delhi Settlement to Provincial Con-

gress Committees by telegram, and the additional expenditure incurred by having another office of the All India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad, a further sum of Rs. 1,000 was sanctioned under the head of "Postage and telegrams," making the total under this head Rs. 2,500.

Under head "Miscellaneous," an additional Rs. 250 was sanctioned making the total Rs. 750.

Resolved further that the expenditure incurred in publications, including Bulletins, be transferred to "Publicity" and this head be re-named "Publications and Publicity."

2. MAHATMA GANDHI'S FUTURE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee considered a cablegram from Gandhiji regarding his future programme. The Committee authorised the President to cable to him to the effect that his further continuance in the Round Table Conference appeared to them to be unnecessary, but in view of various facts and circumstances which were better known to him, as he was on the spot, the Committee left the final decision to him; further Gandhiji's attention was to be drawn to the rapidly worsening situation in Bengal, the Frontier Province, the United Provinces and elsewhere. The Committee were of opinion that Gandhiji's early return to India was desirable and a long continental tour would be inadvisable.

3. BENGAL SITUATION

The Working Committee having now considered the report of the official Inquiry Committee into the Hijli Detention Camp tragedy find that the charges made against the Government of Bengal and the officials of the camp have been in the main substantiated; that the administration of the camp was incompetent and careless of precious human lives, and the responsibility for the tragedy must largely rest with the high officials whose gross mismanagement was responsible for the camp staff acting in a spirit of vindictiveness; that the Government of Bengal showed callous disregard of the truth and deliberately published communiques which have been shown to be false. The Committee trust that those who have been found guilty will be adequately dealt with and full

compensation will be given to the sufferers.

The Committee are of opinion that the Hijli and Chittagong occurrences have demonstrated the incompetence and inhumanity of Government officials. Instead of rooting out the causes of discontent and releasing the detenus and following a policy in consonance with the Delhi truce and with the attempts being made to bring about peace between India and England, the Government have pursued a terrorist policy in Bengal and have now added a new ordinance to their armoury of repression which gives free scope to the police to arrest and detain without trial anyone they choose. The Committee realise that these powers of arrest are being grossly abused and no one in Bengal is free from their application.

The Committee realise that these occurrences have deeply moved the people of India, and particularly of Bengal, and have given them great provocation. But the Committee wish to warn all concerned not to be led away from the path of non-violence in spite of any provocation that might be offered. The Committee greatly regret and condemn the recent violent attempts made on the lives of Messrs Durno and Villiers and wish to emphasise that public violence on the part of the people can only hinder the nation in its march to freedom.

The Committee fully appreciate the gravity of the situation in Bengal and earnestly appeal that the people of that province and of India will not allow themselves to be deflected from the right path, but will organise themselves and keep ready for united and affective action.

4. GANDHI WEEK

The Committee offer their congratulations to the general public as also the various Congress and other organisations for the wholehearted and gratifying response they have accorded to the appeal issued by the President of the Congress in connection with the celebration of the 'Gandhi Week' by readily taking up the stocks of khadi that had accumulated in the various parts of the country. The Committee express their thanks to Syt. Manilal Kothari for his tireless efforts in making the celebration of the 'Gandhi Week' a signal success. The Committee trust that the people will make every

endeavour to create and maintain a steady and ample demand for khadi by restricting their purchases to handspun and handwoven cloth so as to enable the Spinners' Association and the various khadi organisations to offer the much needed supplementary work to the village population on a continuous and adequate basis.

5. WARNING AGAINST SPURIOUS KHADI

The attention of the Committee having been drawn to the great harm that is done to the cause of khadi by some dealers in swadeshi cloth passing off coarse cloth not made from handspun yarn as khadi, the Committee consider it necessary to express their strong disapproval of such practices and urge upon all dealers in swadeshi cloth to help the khadi movement by refraining strictly from selling as khadi such cloth as is not certified by the A. I. S. A. The Committee request all Congress organisations and Boycott Committees to arrange for necessary vigilance so as to eliminate completely the sale of spurious khadi from swadeshi shops.

6. HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL BUDGET

The following budget estimate of the Hindustani Seva Dal for the four months ending December 31, 1931 was sanctioned:—

Headquarters staff at Hubli, Training Academy at Bagalkot, Permanent Volunteer Corps and other recurring expenditure at Rs. 1,890 per month	7,560	0	0
Equipment and other non-recurring expenditure	1,610	0	0
Women's Section	500	0	0
TOTAL	9,670	0	0

The Central Board of the Dal was asked to prepare a budget estimate for the next year and to present it before the Committee, with actual figures of expenditure, before the end of December.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Bombay, December 29, 30 and 31 and January 1, 1932

The following resolutions were passed by the Working Committee which met in Bombay on the 29th, 30th and 31st December 1931 and 1st January 1932, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presiding:—

1. LATE IMAM SAHEB

The Working Committee record their grief at the passing away of Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bavazir who was a lifelong fellow-worker of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa and India and devoted his life to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and the emancipation of the nation. The Committee respectfully tender their condolence to Mahatmaji and the members of the family of the deceased patriot.

2. PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

This Committee reiterate their resolution passed at Delhi on 27th October last and warn the defaulting Provincial Congress Committees that their representatives on the A. I. C. C. will not be allowed to participate at the meetings of the A. I. C. C. unless the annual contributions due are paid up immediately.

3. CAWNPORE ENQUIRY

The Working Committee having read the Cawnpore Enquiry Report thanks the authors for the great pains they have bestowed upon it and hereby authorises the General Secretary to have it published for general information. The Working Committee, however, wishes it to be understood that the publication is not to be interpreted to mean that it has endorsed the correctness of the historical survey made in the report or its appropriateness in an emergent enquiry into a local communal disturbance.

4. BENGAL VACANCIES

The Committee considered the following telegram from

Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chunder, President of the Joint Committee of Bengal P. C. C.:

"Fortnight's time given to Joint Committee expires thirty-first. Three others resign. Pray appoint President in consultation Bengal delegates. Give directions," and resolved that the Joint Committee do fill the vacancies from the respective parties in terms of the award given by the arbitrator and that the President should also be appointed by the Committee."

5. PURI CONGRESS DATES

The letter of the Reception Committee of the Puri Congress suggesting 21st to 23rd February as the dates of the coming session of the Congress was read and considered and the suggestion of the Reception Committee was approved.

6. PRESIDENT'S POWERS

In view of the situation that has arisen the Working Committee authorises its President to exercise all the powers of the Committee and to nominate a successor or successors who will hold office in succession and exercise all the powers of the President. The last nominee of the President will also have the power of nominating his successor or successors in the same way as the President of the Working Committee. These extraordinary powers will abate when normal conditions are restored.

7. INSTRUCTIONS

In order to remove any misunderstandings on the subject it is pointed out to all Committees that in the event of any superior Committee being declared unlawful by Government or otherwise put out of action all subordinate Committees shall exercise their inherent powers to act to the fullest extent within their respective local areas.

8. NON-PAYMENT OF INDIRECT TAXES

It is not commonly known that under modern artificial conditions people pay more to the State through indirect

taxation than through direct taxation. Thus the nation pays the State crores of rupees through the State railways, posts and telegraph services, the customs and the like. If the nation realised this fact all young and old who use these services can take an effective part in the no-tax campaign inaugurated by the Working Committee. The Working Committee therefore calls upon all concerned to help the movement and themselves by reducing to the minimum their use of such services and articles on which customs are paid. The Working Committee draws the attention of the public to the fact that the reduction here proposed in addition to promoting the no-tax movement and thus withdrawing support from a system which the nation seeks to change, will decrease individual expenditure in these hard times and, in the case of goods covered by customs, will encourage Swadeshi.

9. REASSURANCE TO ZAMINDARS

Inasmuch as some misapprehension has been created in the minds of the Zamindars of U. P. in particular and others in general that in discussing proposals for non-payment of rent or taxes under given circumstances the Congress was contemplating a class war, the Working Committee assures the Zamindars concerned that the no-rent proposals referred to were in no way aimed at them but that they represent an economic necessity for the peasantry which is known to be half-starved and at present suffering from unprecedented economic distress. The Working Committee has no design upon any interest legitimately acquired and not in conflict with the national well-being. The Working Committee, therefore, appeals to all landed or monied classes to help the Congress to the best of their ability in its fight for the freedom of the country.

10. APPEAL TO OTHER PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The Working Committee is deeply conscious of the responsibility that attaches to it in the invitation it has issued to the nation to go through a further process of self-suffering in its pursuit after its natural goal. The Working Committee has done so in the hope that it has the sympathy and co-operation of all political and commercial associations and all

those who have hitherto kept away from the Congress. The Working Committee hopes, therefore, that the Congress will receive such support from these bodies and communities as it is in their power to give.

11. APPEAL TO FOREIGN CLOTH MERCHANTS

The Working Committee appeals to all the foreign cloth merchants that it is high time that they now gave up their foreign cloth trade. They must recognise that trade in foreign cloth is opposed to the best interest of the nation and that their full hearted co-operation with the nation is sure to lessen the sufferings of the people inasmuch as foreign cloth trade is a powerful factor in tightening the foreign yoke and in further impoverishing the peasantry which lives in a state of chronic distress.

12. INDIGENOUS MILLS

The Working Committee trusts that the owners, agents and shareholders of indigenous mills will give their unstinted support to the nation in the ordeal to which the Working Committee has invited it and therefore hopes that they will not exploit the struggle for multiplying profits or for damaging the khaddar movement by competing with it, whether by spinning or weaving low counts or by selling their manufactures under the name of Khadi.

13. RESUMPTION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Working Committee has heard Mahatma Gandhi's account of his visit to the West and considered the situation created by the extraordinary Ordinances promulgated in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Frontier Province and by the actions of the authorities including the numerous arrests made among these of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. Sherwani and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and by the shootings in the the Frontier Province of innocent men resulting in many deaths and many more being injured. The Working Committee has also seen the telegram from H. E. the Viceroy in reply to the telegram sent by Mahatma Gandhi to him.

The Working Committee is of opinion that these several

acts and others of lesser gravity that have taken place in some other Provinces and the telegram from H. E. seem to make further co-operation with the Government on the part of the Congress utterly impossible, unless the Government policy is radically changed; these acts and the telegram betray no intention on the part of the bureaucracy to hand power to the people and are calculated to demoralise the nation. They also betray want of faith in the Congress from which co-operation is expected by the Government.

The Working Committee yields to no one in its abhorrence of terrorism on any account whatsoever resorted to by individuals such as was recently witnessed in Bengal but it condemns with equal force terrorism practised by Government as evidenced by its recent acts and Ordinances.

The Working Committee marks the deep national humiliation over the assassination committed by two girls in Comilla and is firmly convinced that such crime does great harm to the Nation especially when through its greatest political mouth-piece, the Congress, it is pledged to non-violence for achieving Swaraj.

But the Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the Bengal Ordinance which seeks to punish a whole people for the crime of a few. The real remedy lies in dealing with the known cause that prompts such crimes.

If Bengal Ordinance has no justification for its existence the Ordinances in the U. P. and the Frontier Province have still less.

The Working Committee is of opinion that the measures taken by the Congress in the U. P. for obtaining agrarian relief are and can be shown to be justified. The Working Committee holds that it is the unquestionable right of all people suffering from grave economic distress as the tenantry of the United Provinces is admittedly suffering, to withhold payment of taxes, if they fail, as in the U. P. they have failed, to obtain redress by other constitutional methods. In the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sherwani, the President of the U. P. Congress Committee and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Working General Secretary of the Congress, who were proceeding to Bombay to confer with Mahatma Gandhi and to take part in the meeting of the Working Committee,

the Government have gone even beyond the limits contemplated by their Ordinance in that there was no question whatsoever of these gentlemen taking part in Bombay in a no-tax campaign in the U. P.

So far as the Frontier Province is concerned, on the Government's own showing there appears to be no warrant for either the promulgation of the Ordinance or the arrest and imprisonment without trial of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his co-workers.

The Working Committee regards the shootings in that province of innocent and unarmed men to be wanton and inhuman and congratulates the brave men of the Frontier Province upon their courage and endurance and the Working Committee has no doubt that if the brave people of the Frontier Province retain their non-violent spirit in spite of the gravest provocations, their blood and their sufferings would advance the cause of India's independence.

The Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to institute a public and impartial inquiry into the events that have led up to the passing of these Ordinances, the necessity of superseding the ordinary courts of law and legislative machinery and the necessity of the several acts committed thereunder and thereafter. If a proper enquiry is set up and all facilities are given to the Working Committee for the production of evidence, it will be prepared to assist the enquiry by leading evidence before it.

The Working Committee has considered the declaration of the Prime Minister made before the Round Table Conference and the debates in the Houses of Parliament and regards the declaration as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand and places on record its opinion that nothing short of complete Independence carrying full control over the Defence and External affairs, and Finance with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of the nation can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory.

The Working Committee notes that the British Government was not prepared at the Round Table Conference to regard the Congress as representing and entitled to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole without distinction of

caste, creed or colour. At the same time the Committee recognises with sorrow that communal harmony could not be attained at the said Conference.

The Working Committee invites the nation, therefore, to make ceaseless effort to demonstrate the capacity of the Congress to represent the nation as a whole and promote an atmosphere that would make a constitution framed on a purely national basis acceptable to the various communities composing the nation.

Meanwhile the Working Committee is prepared to tender co-operation to the Government provided H. E. the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the ordinances and its recent acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future further negotiations and consultations to prosecute the Congress claim for complete Independence and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives pending the attainment of such Independence.

The absence of any satisfactory response from the Government in terms of the foregoing paragraph the Working Committee will regard as an indication on the part of the Government that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi Pact. In the event of a satisfactory response not forthcoming, the Working Committee calls upon the nation to resume Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes under the following conditions and illustrative heads:—

1. No province or district or Tahsil or village is bound to take up Civil Disobedience unless the people thereof understand the non-violent nature of the struggle with all its implications and are ready to undergo sufferings involving loss of life and property.

2. Non-violence must be observed in thought, word and deed in the face of the gravest provocation, it being understood that the campaign is not one of seeking revenge or inflicting injuries on the oppressor but it is one of converting him through self-suffering and self-purification.

3. Social boycott with the intention of inflicting injury on Government officers, police or anti-nationalists should not be undertaken and is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of non-violence.

4. It should be borne in mind that non-violent campaigns are independent of pecuniary assistance. Therefore, there should be no hired volunteers, but their bare maintenance and maintenance of the dependents of poor men and women who might have been imprisoned or killed is permissible wherever it is possible. The Working Committee, however, expects workers in the cause to continue the struggle even though they might have to suffer privations.

5. Boycott of all foreign cloth whether British or of other countries is obligatory under all circumstances.

6. All Congressmen and women are expected to use handspun and handwoven Khaddar to the exclusion of even cloth manufactured in the indigenous mills.

7. Picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops should be vigorously conducted chiefly by women, but always so as to ensure perfect non-violence.

8. Unlicensed manufacture and collection of salt should be resumed.

9. If processions and demonstrations are organised, only those should join them who will stand lathi charges or bullets without moving from their respective places.

10. Even in non-violent war boycott of goods manufactured by the oppressor is perfectly lawful inasmuch as it is never the duty of the victim to promote or retain commercial relations with the oppressor.

Therefore boycott of British goods and British concerns should be resumed and vigorously prosecuted.

11. Civil breach of non-moral laws and of laws and orders injurious to the people wherever it is considered possible and advisable may be practised.

12. All unjust orders issued under the Ordinances may be civilly disobeyed.

14. APPEAL TO FREE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

A non-violent and righteous movement depends for its success on gathering round it the strength of public opinion. This public opinion of the world, the Working Committee gratefully acknowledges, is being slowly but surely drawn in

ever-increasing degree towards India's fight for national independence. On the eve of the fresh ordeal to which the nation has been summoned, the Working Committee invites the free peoples of the world and their Governments to watch and study the progress of the movement, and if they are convinced of the justness of the unique means adopted by the Congress for reaching the national goal, to give to the movement their enlightened support in a greater and more effective measure than heretofore. In the opinion of the Working Committee the non-violent method adopted by the Congress gives it a world-wide importance and if the method becomes demonstrably successful, it is likely to furnish an effective moral equivalent for war and thus make a lasting contribution to the progress of humanity groaning under the dead weight of armaments.

DELHI SESSION 1932

The forty-sixth Session of the Indian National Congress was held on April 24, 1932. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the President-designate, but he was arrested on his way to Delhi.

DELHI SESSION 1932

The forty-sixth Session of the Indian National Congress was held under abnormal circumstances. Owing to the resumption of hostilities on the part of the Government on the one hand and of civil disobedience on the part of the Congress on the other, the majority of Working Committee and A. I. C. C. members and prominent Congressmen throughout India had been arrested. Provincial Congress and other subordinate or allied organisations had been declared unlawful. But the Congress itself was not put under ban. The Government, however, when the announcement for the holding of the forty-sixth session was made, declared that they would prevent the same by every means at their disposal.

The Central Executive of the Congress had announced that the session would be held at Delhi on Sunday, April 24, under the Presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Provincial Congress organisations though declared unlawful sent their delegates to the session in the normal course.

The Government took the following precautionary measures:—

(1) It declared the Reception Committee at Delhi an unlawful organisation and arrested all members residing in Delhi.

(2) Hundreds of provincial delegates to the session were arrested at the time of their departure for Delhi.

(3) Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Acting President of the All India Congress Committee, was put under arrest while leaving Bombay.

(4) Seven prominent cloth merchants of Chandni Chowk, Delhi were served with notices under the Emergency Powers Ordinance that for a period of one week from April 23 they should not close their shops or business premises between the hours of ten and six without obtaining the sanction of the senior Superintendent of Police or any officer authorised by him. Any contravention of the order was punishable with imprisonment which might extend to two years or with fine upto Rs. 2,000 or with both.

(5) All the Dharamshalas or Hotels in the city were warned under heavy penalties against lodging any delegates.

(6) Delhi was kept as it were in a state of siege for a whole week previous to the session and every suspected Congress delegate was put under arrest. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President-designate was arrested while entering Delhi.

(7) More than half the total of forty members nominated by Shrimati Naidu, the Acting President, to form the Subjects Committee of the session were arrested on their way to Delhi.

Notwithstanding all this, the rest of the Subjects Committee members reached Delhi and at a formal meeting held on 23rd April night adopted five resolutions for the open session including the Independence resolution of the Lahore

Congress and the resolution for civil disobedience adopted by the Working Committee in Bombay on the eve of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders.

THE OPEN SESSION

On Sunday, April 24, batches of policemen were marching from one end of the Chandni Chowk to the other and mounted sawars and armed police in lorries maintained a constant patrol throughout the city. All the likely places of meeting were strictly guarded. Exactly at 9 a.m. however four hundred Congress delegates from all parts of India gathered on the historic open ground under the clock tower at Chandni Chowk and unanimously adopted the resolutions recommended by the Subjects Committee. The session lasted about ten minutes during which the resolutions were passed and the copies of the addresses of the Chairman Reception Committee, of the Annual Report of the Congress and of Congress resolutions were distributed among the assembled delegates and the crowd that collected there. Before long, however, the Police arrived on the scene and forming a cordon round the meeting arrested about 300 delegates. The Police were so taken aback that they forgot to declare the meeting illegal before making the arrests.

This was followed by a series of small processions and arrests. Delegates began to arrive at Chandni Chowk in batches of half-a-dozen and were all arrested. Soon the authorities realised that if they went on arresting there would be no end of people offering themselves. So in the afternoon they took to lathi charging the batches that came to the tower for arrests.

The following arrests were reported to have been made in connection with this session. 650 in Delhi, 160 at Moradabad, and about 500 in the rest of India. Many cities observed *hartal* for the arrest of leaders in connection with this session.

The following resolutions were passed by the forty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress:—

1. GOAL OF COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

This Congress reiterates complete independence as its

goal and reaffirms the resolution of independence adopted at its Lahore session.

2. ENDORSEMENT OF WORKING COMMITTEE DECISION

This Congress fully and whole-heartedly endorses the decisions reached by the Working Committee at its last sitting in Bombay and fully supports the lead given by it to the country by the revival of civil disobedience.

3. CONGRATULATIONS TO NATION

This Congress congratulates the Nation on its splendid response to Mahatma Gandhi's call to the struggle for freedom and expresses its complete faith in his leadership.

4. HOMAGE TO MARTYRS

This Congress puts on record its high appreciation of the supreme sacrifice of those who were privileged to lay down their lives in the service of their motherland as the victims of indiscriminate firing and lathi charges by the police and military in various parts of the country notably in the Frontier Province and the Tarapur in Bihar.

5. FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE

This Congress reaffirms its deep faith in non-violence and congratulates the country particularly the brave Pathans of the Frontier Province upon their general adherence to it in spite of grave provocations.

APPENDIX No. 1

SIMLA AGREEMENT

GANDHIJI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE VICEROY

As a result of conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and representatives of the Government of India at Simla, it was agreed that Gandhiji should proceed to London in order to attend the Round Table Conference, on behalf of the Congress, and Gandhiji sailed accordingly on August 29 from Bombay.

The agreement was published by the Government of India in an official communique to which were attached letters from Gandhiji to Mr. Emerson, Secretary Home Department, Government of India, and from Mr. Emerson to Gandhiji. The letters were integral parts of the agreement. The text of the communique and the letters is given below:

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

1. As a result of conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress will now be represented by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

2. The settlement of March 5, 1931 remains operative. The Government of India and the Local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established and will give their careful consideration to any presentation that may be made in this respect. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the settlement.

3. In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat District, the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli Taluka and Valod Mahal, which were visited by Revenue Officials, accompanied by a party of police, during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue payers and enforced by coercion, exercised through the police, than were made from and met by revenue payers of other villages of the Bardoli Taluka. The Government of India in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay have decided that an inquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference:—

"To inquire into the allegations that *Khatedars* in the villages in question, were compelled by means of coercion, exercised through the police, to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied, which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli Taluka, where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police, and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid. Within the terms of reference evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute."

The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. C. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector, Nasik, to hold the inquiry.

4. In regard to other matters hitherto raised by Congress, the Government of India and the Local Governments concerned are not prepared to order an enquiry.

5. In regard to any further matters of complaint by the

Congress, not coming within the specific provisions of the Settlement, such complaints will be dealt with in accordance with the ordinary administrative procedure and practice, and if any question of an inquiry arises, the decision as to whether an inquiry shall be held and, if so, the form it shall take, will be made by the Local Government concerned, in accordance with such procedure and practice.

GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO MR. EMERSON

Letter from Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Emerson: Simla, August 27, 1931:—

Dear Mr. Emerson,—I have to acknowledge with thanks your letter of even date, enclosing a new draft. Sir Cowasji has kindly also communicated to me the amendments suggested by you. My colleagues and I have very carefully considered the amended draft, which we are prepared to accept subject to the following remarks:—

In Paragraph 4, it is not possible for me, on behalf of the Congress, to subscribe to the position taken up by the Government. For, we feel that, where in the opinion of the Congress a grievance arising out of the working of the Settlement is not redressed, an inquiry is a necessity of the case, because of the fact that Civil Disobedience remains under suspension during the pendency of the Delhi Pact. But if the Government of India and Local Governments are not prepared to grant an inquiry, my colleagues and I have no objection to the clause remaining. The result will be, that whilst the Congress will not press for an inquiry, in regard to "the other matters hitherto raised" on its behalf, if unfortunately any grievance is so acutely felt that it becomes a paramount duty of the Congress to seek some method of relief, in the absence of an inquiry, in the shape of defensive direct action, the Congress should be held free to adopt such remedy, notwithstanding the suspension of civil disobedience.

I need hardly assure the Government that it would be the constant endeavour of the Congress to avoid direct action and to gain relief by discussion, persuasion, and the like. The statement of the Congress position given here has become necessary in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding in the future or a charge of breach of faith on the part of Congress. In the event of a successful issue to the present discussions, I assume that the *communiqué*, this letter, and your reply would be simultaneously published.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MR. EMERSON'S LETTER

Government of India, Home Department, Simla, August 27,
1931:—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I write to thank you for your letter of today's date, in which you accept the draft *communiqué* subject to the observations contained in your letter. The Governor-General-in-Council has noted that it is not the intention of the Congress to press for any inquiry into those matters hitherto raised by them, but that while you give an assurance that it will be the constant endeavour of the Congress to avoid direct action, and to gain relief by discussion, persuasion, and the like, you wish to make clear the position of the Congress in regard to any future action that they may decide to take. I am to say that the Governor-General-in-Council shares your hope that no resort to direct action will be taken. In regard to the general position of Government, I am to refer you to the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy dated August 19 to your address. I am to say that the *communiqué*, your letter of today's date and this reply will be published simultaneously by Government.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON

APPENDIX No. 2

MAHATMAJI'S TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

The following telegram was sent by Mahatma Gandhi to the Viceroy on the 29th instant:

"I was unprepared on landing yesterday to find Frontier and U. P. Ordinances, shootings in Frontier and arrests of valued comrades in both, on the top of the Bengal Ordinance awaiting me.

I do not know whether I am to regard these as an indication that friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress.

I would esteem a wire in reply.

VICEROY'S REPLY

The following reply was received from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to the above telegram on the 31st December.

His Excellency desires me to thank you for your telegram of the 29th instant in which you refer to Bengal and United Provinces and the N. W. F. P. Ordinances. In regard to Bengal it has been and is necessary for Government to take all possible measures to prevent dastardly assassination of their officers and of private citizens.

His Excellency wishes me to say that he and his Government desire to have friendly relations with all political parties and with all sections of the public and in particular to securing co-operation of all in great work of constitutional reforms which they are determined to push forward with minimum delay. Co-operation, however, must be mutual and His Excellency and his Government cannot reconcile activities of the Congress in the United Provinces and the N. W. F. P. with the spirit of friendly co-operation which the good of India demands.

As regards United Provinces you are doubtless aware that while the local Government were engaged in devising means to give all possible relief in the existing situation, the Provincial Congress Committee authorised a no-rent campaign which is now being vigorously pursued by Congress organisations in that Province. This action on the part of the Congress bodies has compelled Government to take measures to prevent a general state of disorder and spreading of class and communal hatred which the campaign, if continued unchecked, would inevitably involve.

In N. W. F. P. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the bodies he controlled have continuously engaged in activities against Government and in fomenting racial hatred. He and his friends have persistently refused all overtures by the Chief Commissioner to secure their co-operation and rejecting the declaration of the Prime Minister have declared in favour of complete independence.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan has delivered numerous speeches open to no other construction than as incitements to revolu-

tion and his adherents have attempted to stir up trouble in tribal areas. The Chief Commissioner, with the approval of His Excellency's Government has shown utmost forbearance and to the last moment continued his efforts to secure assistance of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in carrying into effect, with the least possible delay, the intentions of His Majesty's Government regarding constitutional reforms in the province. Government refrained from taking special measures until the activities of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates and in particular the open and intensive preparation for an early conflict with Government created a situation of such grave menace to the peace of the province, and of the tribal areas as to make it impossible further to delay action.

His Excellency understands that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was in August last made responsible for leading the Congress Movement in the Province and that the volunteer organisations he controlled were specially recognised by the All-India Congress Committee as Congress Organisations. His Excellency desires me to make it clear that his responsibilities for peace and order make it impossible for him to have any dealing with persons or organisations upon whom rests the responsibility for the activities outlined above.

You have yourself been absent from India on the business of the Round Table Conference and in the light of the attitude which you have observed there His Excellency is unwilling to believe that you have personally any share in the responsibility for or that you approve of the recent activities of the Congress in the United Provinces and in the N. W. F. P. If this is so, he is willing to see you and to give you his views as to the way in which you can best exert your influence to maintain the spirit of co-operation which animated the proceedings of the Round Table Conference. But His Excellency feels bound to emphasise that he will not be prepared to discuss with you measures which the Government of India, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, the United Provinces and the N. W. F. P.

These measures must in any case be kept in force until they have served the purpose for which they were imposed, namely, preservation of law and order essential to good

Government. On receipt of your reply His Excellency proposes to publish this correspondence."

MAHATMAJI'S REJOINDER TO VICEROY

The following is Mahatmaji's rejoinder to the Viceroy's reply:

I thank His Excellency for the wire in reply to mine of 29th instant. It grieves me; for His Excellency has rejected in a manner hardly befitting his high position an advance made in friendliest spirit. I had approached as a seeker wanting light on questions upon which I desired to understand the Government version of very serious and extraordinary measures to which I made reference. Instead of appreciating my advance His Excellency has rejected it by asking me to repudiate my valued colleagues in advance and telling me that even if I became guilty of such dishonourable conduct and sought interview I could not even discuss these matters of vital importance to the Nation.

In my opinion the constitutional issue dwindles into insignificance in the face of the Ordinances and acts which must, if not met with stubborn resistance, end in utter demoralisation of the Nation. I hope no self-respecting Indian will run the risk of killing national spirit for a doubtful contingency of securing a constitution to work which no Nation with stamina may be left. Let me also point out that as to the Frontier Province your telegram contains a narration of facts which on the face of them furnish no warrant for arrests of popular leaders passing extra-legal Ordinance making life and property utterly insecure and shooting unarmed peaceful crowds for daring to demonstrate against the arrests of their trusted leaders.

If Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan asserted the right to complete independence it was a natural claim and a claim made with impunity by the Congress at Lahore in 1929 and by me with energy put before the British Government in London. Moreover let me remind the Viceroy that despite the knowledge on the Government's part that the Congress mandate contained such a claim I was invited to attend the London Conference as the Congress delegate. Nor am I able to detect in a mere refusal to attend a darbar an offence

warranting summary imprisonment. In refusing to attend if Khan Saheb was fomenting racial hatred it was undoubtedly regrettable. I have his own declarations to the contrary made to me, but assuming that he did foment racial hatred he was entitled to an open trial where he could have defended himself against the accusation.

Regarding the United Provinces His Excellency is surely misinformed because there was not a no-rent campaign authorised by the Congress. But whilst negotiations were proceeding between Government and Congress representatives the time for collection of rents actually arrived and rents began to be demanded. Congressmen were, therefore, obliged to advise tenants to suspend payment pending the result of negotiations and Mr. Sherwani had offered on behalf of the Congress to withdraw this advice if the authorities suspended collections pending negotiations. I venture to suggest that this is not a matter which can be so summarily dismissed as your wire has done. The controversy in the United Provinces is of long standing and involves the well-being of millions of peasantry known to be economically ground down.

Any Government jealous of the welfare of the masses in its charge would welcome voluntary co-operation of a big body like the Congress which admittedly exercises great influence over the masses and whose one ambition is to serve them faithfully: and let me add that I regard the withholding of payment of taxes as an inalienable, ancient and natural right of a people who have exhausted all other means of seeking freedom from an unbearable economic burden.

I must repudiate suggestion that the Congress has the slightest desire to promote disorder in any shape or form. As to Bengal, the Congress is at one with the Government in condemning assassinations and should heartily co-operate with Government in measures that may be found necessary to stamp out such crimes. But whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasured terms methods of terrorism, it can in no way associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and the acts done thereunder, but must resist within the limits of its prescribed creed of non-violence such measures of legalised Government terrorism. I heartily assent to the proposition laid down in your telegram

that co-operation must be mutual. But your telegram leads me irresistibly to the conclusion that His Excellency demands co-operation from the Congress without returning any on behalf of Government.

I can read in no other way his peremptory refusal to discuss these matters which as I have endeavoured to show have at least two sides. The popular side I have put as I understand it, but before committing myself to a definite judgment I was anxious to understand the other, that is, the Government side and then tender my advice to the Congress. With reference to the last para of your telegram I may not repudiate moral liability for the actions of my colleagues whether in the Frontier Province or United Provinces but I confess that I was ignorant of the detailed actions and activities of my colleagues whilst I was absent from India, and it was because it was necessary for me to advise and guide the Working Committee of the Congress and in order to complete my knowledge I sought with an open mind and with the best of intentions an interview with His Excellency and deliberately asked for his guidance.

I cannot conceal from His Excellency my opinion that the reply he has condescended to send was hardly a return for my friendly and well-meant approach. And if it is not yet too late I would ask His Excellency to reconsider his decision and see me as a friend without imposing any conditions whatsoever as to the scope or subject of discussion and I on my part can promise that I would study with an open mind all the facts that he might put before me. I would unhesitatingly and willingly go to the respective provinces and with the aid of the authorities study both sides of the question and if I came to the conclusion after such a study that the people were in the wrong and that the Working Committee including myself were misled as to the correct position and that the Government was right, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in making that open confession and guiding the Congress accordingly.

Along with my desire and willingness to co-operate with the Government I must place my limitations before His Excellency. Non-violence is my absolute creed. I believe that civil disobedience is not only the natural right of a people

especially when they have no effective voice in their own Government but that it also is an effective substitute for violence or armed rebellion.

I can never, therefore, deny my creed. In pursuance thereof and on the strength of uncontradicted reports supported by the recent activities of the Government of India to the effect that there may be no other opportunity for me to guide the public, the Working Committee has accepted my advice and passed a resolution tentatively sketching a plan of civil disobedience. I am sending herewith the text of the resolution. If His Excellency thinks it worth-while to see me, the operation of the resolution will be suspended pending our discussion in the hope that it may result in the resolution being finally given up. I admit that the correspondence between His Excellency and myself is of such grave importance as not to brook delay in publication. I am, therefore, sending my telegram, your reply, this rejoinder and the Working Committee's resolution for publication.

APPENDIX No. 3

ELECTORATE FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES

Gandhiji's correspondence with Sir Samuel Hoare, Indian Secretary of State, and Mr. J. Ramsey Macdonald, Prime Minister of England

GANDHIJI'S DECISION TO FAST UNTO DEATH

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Sir Samuel Hoare dated Yeravada Central Prison, March 11, 1932.

Dear Sir Samuel,—You will perhaps recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference when the minorities' claim was presented I had said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorate to the depressed classes. This was not said in the heat of the moment nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement.

In pursuance of that statement I had hoped on my return to India to mobilize public opinion against separate electorates, at any rate for the depressed classes. But it was not to be.

From the newspapers I am permitted to read I observe that any moment his Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought that if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the depressed classes I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel that it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally they would not attach the significance I give to my statement.

I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the creation of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that of others. I am not against their representation in the legislatures. I should favour every one of their adults—male and female—being registered as a voter irrespective of education or property qualifications even though the franchise test may be stricter for others. But I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint. To appreciate the harm that separate electorates would do them one has to know how they are distributed amongst the so-called caste Hindus and how dependent they are on the latter. So far as Hinduism is concerned separate electorate would simply vivisect and disrupt it. For me the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issues. You will have to appreciate my feelings in this matter by remembering that I have been interested in the condition of these classes from my boyhood and have more than once staked my all for their sake. I say this not to pride myself in any way. For I feel that no penance caste Hindus may do can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the depressed classes for centuries. But I know that separate electorate is neither a penance nor any remedy for the crushing degradation they have groaned under.

I, therefore, respectfully inform his Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the depressed classes I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step while I am a prisoner must cause grave embarrassment to his Majesty's Government and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical, if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me the contemplated step is not a method, it is a part of my being. It is a call of the conscience which I dare not disobey even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess.

So far as I can see now my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping, however, that all my fears are wholly unjustified and the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the depressed classes.

It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way the repression is going. I have no notion when I may receive a shock that would compel the sacrifice. Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called legitimate. A Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalized. The latter, high and low are becoming demoralised by reason of the Government rewarding as meritorious disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down. Free speech has been stifled. Gondalism is being practised in the name of law and order. Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this, as it seems to me, is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads people to break the newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

In all these doings as I read them I see no spirit of democracy. Indeed, my recent visit to England has confirmed my opinion that your democracy is a superficial, circumscribed thing. In the weightiest matters decisions are taken by indi-

viduals or groups without any reference to Parliament and these have been ratified by members having but a vague notion of what they were doing. Such was the case with Egypt, and the war of 1914 and such is the case with India. My whole being rebels against the idea that in a system called democratic one man should have the unfettered power of affecting the destiny of an ancient people numbering over three hundred millions and that his decisions can be enforced by mobilising the most terrible forces of destruction. To me this is a negation of democracy.

And this repression cannot be prolonged without further embittering the already bitter relations between the two peoples. In so far as I am responsible and can help it how am I to arrest the process? Not by stopping civil disobedience. For me it is an article of faith. I regard myself by nature a democrat. The democracy of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use of physical force for enforcing its will. Civil resistance, therefore, has been conceived to be a proper substitute for physical force to be used wherever generally the latter is held necessary or justifiable. It is a process of self-suffering and a part of the plan is that in given circumstances a civil resister must sacrifice himself even by fasting to a finish. That moment has not yet arrived for me. I have no undeniable call from within for such a step. But the events happening outside are alarming enough to agitate my fundamental being. Therefore, in writing to you about the possibility of a fast regarding the depressed classes I felt I would be untrue to you, if I did not tell you also that there was another possibility, not remote, of such a fast.

Needless to say from my side absolute secrecy has been maintained about all correspondence I have carried on with you. Of course Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahadev Desai who have just been sent to join us know all about it. But you will no doubt make whatever use you wish of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

Sir Samuel Hoare
Whitehall
London

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S REPLY

Letter dated April 13, 1932, from Sir Samuel Hoare to Mahatma Gandhi:

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I write in answer to your letter of the 11th March and I say at once that I realise fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I can only say that we intend to give any decision that may be necessary solely upon the merits of the case. As you are aware Lord Lothian's Committee has not yet completed its tour and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusions at which it may have arrived. When we can receive the report we shall have to give the most careful consideration to its recommendations and we shall not give any decision until we have taken into account in addition to the views expressed by the committee the views that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed. I feel sure if you were in our position you would be taking exactly the same action we intend to take. You would await the Committee's report, you would then give it your fullest consideration and before arriving at the final decision you would take into account the views that have been expressed on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say. Indeed I do not imagine you would expect me to say more.

As to the ordinances I can only repeat what I have already said publicly and privately. I am convinced that it was essential to impose them in the face of the deliberate attack upon the very foundations of ordered Government. I am also convinced that both the Government of India and local Governments are not abusing their extensive powers and are doing everything possible to prevent excessive or vindictive action. We shall not keep the emergency measures in force any longer than we are obliged to for the purpose of maintaining the essentials of law and order and protecting our officials and other classes of community against terrorist outrages.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) SAMUEL HOARE

To

M. K. Gandhi Esq.

II

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated Yeravada Central Prison,
August 18, 1932, to the Prime Minister:

Dear Friend,

There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare has showed you and the Cabinet my letter to him of the 11th March on the question of representation of the 'depressed' classes. That letter should be treated as part of this letter and be read together with this.

I have read the British Government's decision on the representation of minorities and have slept over it. In pursuance of my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare and my declaration at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference on the 13th November, 1931 at St. James Palace I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do so is by declaring perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda. This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government of its own motion or under pressure of public opinion revise their decision and withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the depressed classes whose representatives should be elected by the general electorate under common franchise no matter how wide it is.

The proposed fast will come into operation in the ordinary course from the noon of the 20th September next unless the said decision is in the meanwhile revised in the manner suggested above.

I am asking the authorities here to cable the text of this letter to you so as to give you ample notice. But in any case I am leaving sufficient time for this letter to reach you in time by the slowest route.

I also ask that this letter and my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare already referred to be published at the earliest possible moment. On my part I have scrupulously observed the rule of the jail and have communicated my desire or the contents of the two letters to no one save the two companions Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sjt. Mahadev Desai. But I want, if

you make it possible, the public opinion to be affected by my letters. Hence my request for their early publication.

I regret the decision I have taken. But, as a man of religion that I hold myself to be, I have no other course left open to me. As I have said in my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, even if his Majesty's Government decided to release me in order to save themselves from embarrassment my fast will have to continue. For, I cannot now hope to resist the decision by any other means. And I have no desire whatsoever to compass my release by any means other than honourable.

It may be that my judgment is warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for 'depressed' classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so I am not likely to be in the right with reference to other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from off those numberless men and women who have childlike faith in my wisdom. Whereas, if my judgment is right, as I have little doubt it is, the contemplated step is but a due fulfilment of the scheme of life which I have tried for more than a quarter of a century, apparently not without considerable success.

I remain
Your faithful friend,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald
Prime Minister, London

Letter from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, 10 Downing Street,
September 8, 1932.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter with much surprise and, let me add, with very sincere regret. Moreover, I cannot help thinking you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of his Majesty's Government as regards the depressed classes really implies. We have always understood you were irrevocably opposed to permanent segregation of

depressed classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minority Committee of the Round Table Conference and you expressed it again in the letter you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on March 11. We also knew your view was shared by a great body of Hindu opinion and we, therefore, took it into the most careful account when we were considering the question of representation of depressed classes. Whilst in view of the numerous appeals we have received from depressed class organisations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour and which you have often recognised we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believed to be the right of the depressed classes to a fair proportion of representation in the legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself stated in your letter of March 11 that you were not against their representation in the legislatures. Under the Government's scheme the depressed classes will remain a part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing, but for the first 20 years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community, will receive through a limited number of special constituencies means of safeguarding their rights and interests that we are convinced is necessary under the present conditions. Where these constituencies are created members of the depressed classes will not be deprived of their votes in the general Hindu constituencies but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired. We deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as a communal electorate for the depressed classes and included all depressed class voters in the general or Hindu constituencies so that the higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or the depressed class candidates should have to solicit the votes of higher castes at elections. Thus in every way was unity of the Hindu society preserved. We felt, however, that during the early period of responsible government when power in the provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the legislatures it was essential that the depressed classes whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by caste Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should

return a certain number of members of their own choosing to the legislatures of seven of the nine provinces to voice their grievances and their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the legislature and the Government listening to their case—in a word to place them in a position to speak for themselves which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider that the method of electing special representatives by reservation of seats in the joint electorates would secure to the depressed classes in the existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable, members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible to them because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.

The special advantage given under our scheme to the depressed classes by means of a limited number of special constituencies in addition to their normal electoral rights in general Hindu constituencies is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for a minority such as the Muslims by means of separate communal electorates, for example, a Muslim cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency whereas any electorally qualified member of the depressed classes can vote in and stand for a general constituency. The number of territorial seats allotted to the Muslims is naturally conditioned by the fact that it is impossible for them to gain any further territorial seats and in most provinces they enjoy a weightage in excess of their population ratio; the number of special seats to be filled from special depressed class constituencies will be seen to be small and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the depressed class population but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the depressed classes in the legislature who are chosen exclusively by the depressed classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the depressed classes.

As I understand your attitude you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided,

nor to maintain unity of Hindus which is also provided but solely to prevent the depressed classes who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities today from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future. In the light of these very fair and cautious proposals I am quite unable to understand the reason of the decision you have taken and can only think you have made it under a misapprehension of the actual facts.

In response to the very general request from Indians after they had failed to produce a settlement themselves the Government against its will undertook to give a decision on the minorities' question. They have now given it and they cannot be expected to alter it except on the conditions they have stated. I am afraid, therefore, that my answer to you must be that the Government's decision stands and that only an agreement of the communities themselves can substitute other electoral arrangements for those that Government have devised in a sincere endeavour to weigh the conflicting claims on their just merits.

You ask this correspondence including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of March 11 should be published. As it would seem to me unfair if your present internment were to deprive you of the opportunity of explaining to the public the reasons why you intend to fast, I readily agree to the request if on a reconsideration you repeat it. Let me, however, once again urge you to consider the actual details of the Government's decision and ask yourself seriously the question whether it really justifies you in taking action you contemplate.

I am,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated Yeravada Central Prison,
September 9, 1932, to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald:

Dear Friend,

I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed and received this day. I am sorry, however, that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on behalf of the very class to sacrifice whose interests you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without urging I affirm that for me this matter is one of pure religion. The mere fact of the 'depressed' classes having double votes does not protect them or the Hindu society in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of separate electorates at all for the 'depressed' classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to the 'depressed' classes. You will please permit me to say no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned. I should not be against even over-representation of the 'depressed' classes. What I am against is their statutory separation even in a limited form from the Hindu fold so long as they choose to belong to it. Do you realise that if your decision stands and the constitution comes into being you arrest the marvellous growth of the work of Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life.

I have, therefore, been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision conveyed to you.

As your letter may give rise to a misunderstanding I wish to state that the fact of my having isolated for special treatment of the 'depressed' classes question from other parts of your decision does not in any way mean that I approve of or am reconciled to other parts of the decision. In my opinion many other parts are open to very grave objections. I do not consider them to be any warrant for calling from me

such self-immolation as my conscience has prompted me to in the matter of the 'depressed' classes.

I remain,
Your faithful friend
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

The following is the statement that Mahatma Gandhi had sent to the Bombay Government on the 15th on his decision to fast in connection with the 'depressed classes' problem:—

'The fast which I am approaching was resolved upon in the name of God for His work and, as I believe, in all humility, at His call. Friends have urged me to postpone the date for the sake of giving the public a chance to organise itself. I am sorry it is not open to me to change even the hour except for the reason stated in my letter to the Prime Minister. The impending fast is against those who have faith in me whether Indians or foreigners, and for those who have it not. Therefore it is not against the English official world, but it is against those Englishmen and women who in spite of the contrary teaching of the official world believe in me and the justice of the cause I represent. Nor is it against those of my countrymen who have no faith in me whether they be Hindus or others, but it is against those countless Indians (no matter to what persuasion they belong) who believe that I represent a just cause. Above all it is intended to sting the Hindu conscience into right religious action. The contemplated fast is no appeal to mere emotion. By fast I want to throw the whole of my weight (such as it is) in the scales of justice, pure and simple. Therefore, there need be no undue haste in feverish anxiety to save my life. I implicitly believe in the truth of the saying that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. He will save it if he needs it for further service in this body. None can save it against His will. Humanly speaking I believe it will stand the strain for some time.

Separate electorate is merely the last straw. No patched-up agreement between the caste Hindu leaders and rival

'depressed' class leaders will answer the purpose. The agreement to be valid has to be real. If Hindu mass-mind is not yet prepared to banish untouchability, root and branch, it must sacrifice me without the slightest hesitation. There should be no coercion of those who are opposed to joint electorate. I have no difficulty in understanding their bitter opposition. They have every right to distrust me. Do I not belong to that Hindu section, mis-called superior class or caste Hindus, who have remained nevertheless in the Hindu fold? But whilst I can justify this opposition I believe that they are in error. They will, if they can, separate the 'depressed' classes entirely from the Hindu society and form them into separate class—a standing and living reproach in Hinduism. I should not mind if thereby their interest could be really served. But an intimate acquaintance with every shade of untouchability convinces me that their lives such as they are are so intimately mixed with those of the caste Hindus in whose midst and for whom they live that it is impossible to separate them. They are part of an individual family. Their revolt against Hindus with whom they live and their apostasy from Hinduism, I should understand, but this, so far as I can see, they will not do. There is a subtle something—quite indefinable—in Hinduism which keeps them in it even in spite of themselves. And this fact makes it imperative for a man like me with a living experience of it to resist the contemplated separation even though the effort should cost my life itself.

The implications of this resistance are tremendous. No compromise which does not ensure the fullest freedom for the depressed classes inside the Hindu fold can be an adequate substitute for the contemplated separation. Any betrayal of trust can merely postpone the day of immolation for me and henceforth for those who think with me. The problem before responsible Hindus is to consider whether in the event of social, civic or political prosecution of the depressed classes they are prepared to face *satyagraha* in the shape of perpetual fast not of one reformer like me but an increasing army of reformers who I believe to exist today in India and who will count their lives of no cost to achieve the liberation of these classes and there thorough Hinduism of an age-long superstition. Let fellow reformers who have worked with me also

appreciate the implications of the fast. It is either a hallucination of mind or an illumination—if it is the former I must be allowed to do my penance in peace. It will be lifting of a dead weight on Hinduism if it is illumination. May my agony purify Hinduism and even melt the hearts of those who are at present disposed to disturb me.

Since there appears to be a misunderstanding as to the application of my fast, I may repeat that it is aimed at statutory separate electorate in any shape or form, for the depressed classes. Immediately that threat is removed once for all my fast will end. I hold strong views about reservation of seats, as also about the most proper method of dealing with the whole question. But I consider myself unfit as a prisoner to set forth my proposals. I should, however, abide by any agreement on the basis of joint electorates that may be arrived at between responsible leaders of caste Hindus and the depressed classes and which has been accepted by mass meetings of all Hindus. One thing I must make clear. A satisfactory ending of the depressed classes question, if it is to come, should in no way be construed that I would be committed to the acceptance of His Majesty's Government decision on other parts of the communal question. I am personally opposed to many parts of it which to my mind make the working of any free democratic constitution well nigh impossible. Nor would a satisfactory solution of this question in any way bind me to accept the constitution that may be framed. These are political questions for the National Congress to consider and determine. They are utterly outside my province in my individual capacity. Nor may I as a prisoner air my individual views on these questions. My fast has a narrow application.

The depressed classes' question being predominantly a religious matter, I regard it as specially my own by reason of the life-long concentration on it. It is a sacred personal trust which I may not shirk. Fasting for light and penance is a hoary institution. I have observed it in Christianity and Islam. Hinduism is replete with instances of fasting for purification and penance. But if it is a privilege: it is also a duty. Moreover to the best of my light I have reduced it to a science. As an expert, therefore, I would warn friends and sympa-

thisers against copying blindly or out of false or hysterical sympathy. Let all such qualify themselves by hard work and selfless service of the untouchables and they would have independent light, if their time for fasting has come. Lastly in so far as I know myself this fast is being undertaken with the purest of motives and without malice or anger against any single soul. For me it is an expression of and the last seal on, non-violence. Those, therefore, who would use violence in this controversy against those whom they may consider to be inimical to me or the cause I represent will simply hasten my end. Perfect courtesy and consideration towards opponents is an absolute essential of success in this cause at least if not in all causes.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

APPENDIX No. 4

THE YERAVADA PACT

The following is the text of agreement arrived at between the leaders of the depressed classes and of the rest of the Hindu community regarding representation of the depressed classes in the legislatures. The agreement was adopted by Government in supersession of Paragraph 9 of the decision of the British Government regarding communal representation in the proposed constitution of India:—

(1) There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general electorate seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows:—

Madras 30; Bombay with Sind 15; Punjab 8; Bihar and Orissa 18; Central Provinces 20; Assam 7; Bengal 30; United Provinces 20; Total 148.

These figures are based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils, announced in the Prime Minister's decision.

(2) Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure:

All the members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll in a constituency will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of four candidates

belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of the single vote; the four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election shall be candidates for election by the general electorate.

(3) Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in Clause two above, for their representation in the Provincial Legislatures.

(4) In the Central Legislature, eighteen per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.

(5) The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, as hereinbefore mentioned, shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of Clause six below:

(6) The system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in Clause 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between communities concerned in the settlement.

(7) Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.

(8) There shall be no disabilities attaching to any one on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to the Public Services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services.

(9) In every province out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the Depressed Classes.

All the leaders present in Poona, including Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Srinivasan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, Mr. P. Ballo, Mr. Rajbhoj and Mr. Sivraj signed the agreement.

PART III

CALCUTTA SESSION 1933

The forty-seventh Session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta on April 1, 1933. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the President-designate, but he was arrested on the previous day on his way to Calcutta. Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta presided over the meeting.

CALCUTTA SESSION 1933

The forty-seventh session of the Indian National Congress was held under circumstances similar to the previous year. The Congress itself had not been declared an unlawful organisation and when the Home Member was pressed in the Bengal Council to declare whether the holding of a session of the Congress itself was an offence, he only evaded the question by saying that that was a matter of opinion. But this opinion of the Bengal Government was soon manifest through what they did to prevent the session and their brutal treatment of the delegates assembled from all parts of India after the Congress had passed its resolutions.

The following measures were adopted by Government to prevent the session:—

(1) The Reception Committee was declared unlawful by a notification in the Calcutta Gazette, dated 16th March, 1933. The Chairman of the Committee and its Secretary were arrested and convicted.

(2) By an Extraordinary Gazette notification, the Public Security Act was extended to the city of Calcutta, Howrah, 24 Parganas, Asansole, Jhargram (in Midnapur), Ranaghat, Serajganj, Rajbari, Khulna, Dinajpur and Bankura authorising the Police to arrest any person suspected to have connection with the Congress.

(3) The Railway Superintendent of Allahabad issued instructions to all station masters in his district not to issue tickets to persons suspected to be delegates of the Congress.

(4) Police Commissioner of Calcutta issued an order that any person receiving in his house or harbouring a delegate of the Congress would render himself liable to prosecution. All house-owners in Calcutta were warned that a house used for the purpose of the Reception Committee of the Congress was liable to be notified and taken possession of by the police.

(5) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was informed by the District Magistrate of Allahabad that he would not be allowed to attend the session.

(6) Prominent Congressmen in Calcutta numbering about 500 were put under arrest.

(7) Congress leaders proceeding from other centres to attend the Calcutta session were arrested.

(8) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Motilal Nehru were arrested at Asansol on their way to Calcutta and were detained in Asansole Jail.

(9) All the parks of the city numbering 59 were strongly guarded.

In spite of all these precautions, the session was held punctually at 3 p.m. at the Esplanade, one of the busiest quarters of the city. Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta was arrested with 250 delegates which included 40 lady-delegates. Many people were injured due to the indiscriminate assaults of the police. Facts connected with these assaults were given in a public statement made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which is reprinted as an Appendix to this section.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SESSION

The following resolutions were passed by the forty-seventh session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta on April 1, 1933.

1. GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE

This Congress reaffirms the resolution passed at its 44th

session at Lahore in 1929 declaring complete Independence as its goal.

2. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, A LEGITIMATE WEAPON

This Congress holds Civil Disobedience to be a perfectly legitimate means for the protection of the rights of the people, for the vindication of national self-respect, and for the attainment of the national goal.

3. ADHERENCE TO THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PROGRAMME

This Congress reaffirms the decision of the Working Committee arrived at on the 1st January, 1932. On a careful survey of all that has happened during the past fifteen months, the Congress is firmly of opinion that in the situation in which the country is placed, the Civil Disobedience movement should be strengthened and extended, and the Congress therefore calls upon the people to pursue the movement with greater vigour on the lines laid down by the Working Committee in the aforesaid resolution.

4. BOYCOTT

This Congress calls upon all classes and sections of the people in this country to completely eschew foreign cloth, to give preference to khaddar and to boycott all British goods.

5. WHITE PAPER

This Congress holds that no constitution framed by the British Government while it is engaged in conducting a campaign of ruthless repression, involving the imprisonment and internment of the most trusted leaders of the Nation and thousands of their followers, suppression of the Fundamental Rights of free speech and association, stringent restraint on the liberty of the press and replacement of the normal civil law by virtual martial law, deliberately initiated by it on the eve of Mahatma Gandhi's return from England with a view to crush the national spirit, can be worthy of consideration by or acceptable to the people of India.

The Congress is confident that the public will not be misled by the scheme outlined in the recently-published White Paper which is inimical to the vital interests of India and is devised to perpetuate foreign domination in this country.

6. GANDHIJI'S FAST

This Congress offers its congratulations to the country on the successful termination of Mahatma Gandhi's fast of September 1932 and hopes that untouchability will before long become a thing of the past.

7. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what Swaraj, as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. With this object in view it reiterates Resolution No. 15 of the Karachi Sessions of the Congress of 1931. (See Appendix No. 6).

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Patna, May 18 and 19, 1934

The All India Congress Committee met at the Radhika Sinha Institute Hall, Patna on May 18 and 19, 1934. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presided.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. CONDOLENCES

The All India Congress Committee places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of the following persons who had been either office-bearers or members of the All India Congress Committee:

Sir Sankaran Nair, Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. Hasan Imam, ex-presidents; Messrs. Vithalbhai J. Patel and A. Rangaswami Iyengar, ex-general secretaries; Syts. J. M. Sen-

Gupta, Lalit-Mohan Das, A. K. Ghulam Jilani, Phulchand Shah, Lakshmidhar Sharma, Shyamlal Nehru, Syed Zahurul Hasan Hashmi, Gokul Krishna Ray and Vishwanath Rao Salpekar.

2. SUSPENSION OF CIVIL RESISTANCE

Having considered the statement dated April 7, 1934 of Mahatma Gandhi this Committee accepts his recommendation in regard to the suspension of civil resistance.

3. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

Inasmuch as there exists in the Congress a large body of members who believe in the necessity of entry into the Legislatures as a step in the country's progress towards its goal, the All India Congress Committee hereby appoints Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. M. A. Ansari to form a Board with Dr. M. A. Ansari as President, called the Congress Parliamentary Board consisting of not more than twenty-five Congressmen.

The Board shall run and control elections of members to the Legislatures on behalf of the Congress and shall have power to raise, possess and administer funds for carrying out its duties.

The Board shall be subject to the control of the All India Congress Committee and shall have power to frame its constitution and make rules and regulations from time to time for the management of its affairs. The constitution and the rules and regulations shall be placed before the Working Committee for approval but shall be in force pending approval of otherwise of the Working Committee.

The Board shall select only such congressmen as candidates who will be pledged to carry out in the Legislatures the Congress policy as it will be determined from time to time.

4. NEXT CONGRESS SESSION

Resolved that the next ordinary session of the Congress be held at Bombay in the first week of October, 1934.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Patna, May 18, 19 and 20, 1934

The Working Committee met at Pilikothi, Patna on May 18, 19 and 20, 1934.

The following resolutions were passed:

1. CONDOLENCES

Vide Resolution I of A. I. C. C. Supra.

2. SUSPENSION OF CIVIL RESISTANCE

Vide Resolution II of A. I. C. C. Supra.

3. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

Vide Resolution III of A. I. C. C. Supra.

NOTE—The resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee was the same except that for the words, "candidates as" occurring in the last para of the resolution as originally adopted by the Working Committee, the words, "Congressmen as candidates who" were substituted by the A. I. C. C.

4. SYMPATHY FOR TEXTILE WORKERS

The Working Committee sympathises with the Textile workers who are on strike in Bombay, Nagpur, Sholapur, Delhi and other places in the sufferings and privations which they have undergone and are undergoing and hopes that the employers will take early steps to give satisfaction to and arrive at an equitable settlement with the workers.

5. DUTY OF CONGRESSMEN

The Working Committee invites the attention of all Congressmen to the resolution of the All India Congress Committee adopted at Patna on May 18, 1934 accepting Mahatma Gandhi's advice regarding suspension of civil resistance contained in his statement dated April 7, 1934, and calls upon all Congressmen loyally to abide by the said resolution.

6. CONGRESS REORGANISATION

In modification of the instructions issued by the Acting President at Poona in July 1933, all Congressmen are hereby called upon to reorganise all Congress Committees for the purpose of carrying on normal Congress activities.

7. ENROLMENT OF ELECTIONS

(a) All Congress organisations are called upon to enrol members and complete the elections to the various committees before August 31, 1934.

(b) The newly constituted Provincial Committees shall suggest to the Reception Committee to be formed at Bombay, names for the Presidentship of the ensuing Session of the Indian National Congress on or before September 15, 1934.

8. ACTING CHAIRMAN

Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj shall act as Chairman of the Working Committee and exercise all the powers of the President till the ensuing Session of the Congress.

9. ORGANISERS

Resolved that the work of reorganising Congress Committees be entrusted to the following persons with full powers on behalf of the Working Committee, in the areas respectively shown against their names:—

(a) Bengal, Assam, Berar and Orissa
Syt. M. S. Aney

(b) Behar
Syt. Rajendra Prasad.

(c) United Provinces
Syts. Govindballabh Pant, Mohanlal Saksena
and Purshottamdas Tandon.

(d) Delhi, Punjab and N. W. F.
Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar

(e) Rajputana
Dr. Syed Mahmud

- (f) C. P. Hindustani
Seth Govind Das
- (g) C. P. Marathi
Syt. M. V. Abhyankar
- (h) Bombay
Syt. K. F. Nariman
- (i) Gujerat
Dr. Chandulal M. Desai
- (j) Karnatak and Maharashtra
Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande
- (k) Sind
Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani
- (l) Tamil Nad, Andhra and Kerala
Syt. C. Rajagopalachar

WORKING COMMITTEE

The Working Committee met at Satyagraha Ashram, Wardha on June 12 and 13, and at Mani Bhawan, Bombay on June 17 and 18, 1934.

Resolutions adopted at Wardha on June 12 and 13

1. CONDOLENCE

The Working Committee tenders its deep sympathy to Babu Rajendra Prasad and his family on the loss of his elder brother, the late Babu Mahendra Prasad, whose exceptional domestic affection had made it possible for Babu Rajendra Prasad to devote himself solely to the national cause and who was himself a silent public worker and philanthropist of a high order.

2. CONGRESS REORGANISATION

(a) The Committee expects all Provincial and Local Congress Committees to complete all elections including those to the A. I. C. C. by the end of August 1934. Provincial Congress Committees are requested to send fortnightly progress reports to the A. I. C. C. Office at Allahabad.

(b) The Committee desires to make it clear that, as explained by the Acting Chairman already in his press statement of May 25, 1934, the Organizers were appointed by this Committee under Resolution 9 dated May 20, 1934 not to supersede but to render such assistance to Provincial Committees as they may require from time to time.

3. (I) CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

In view of the removal of the ban on Congress organisations, the Working Committee advises responsible Congress workers to expedite the reorganization of the Congress Committees within their respective jurisdictions and engage Congressmen in the various constructive activities, particularly

- (a) production of khaddar through self-spinning and spread thereof, within the area of production, and such further assistance to the All India Spinners' Association as is within their power.
- (b) removal of untouchability.
- (c) promotion of inter-communal unity.
- (d) promotion of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and advocacy of prohibition.
- (e) promotion of education on national lines.
- (f) promotion and development of useful small industries.
- (g) Organization and reconstruction of village alike in its economic, educational, social and hygienic aspects.
- (h) spread of useful knowledge among the adult population in the villages.
- (i) organization of industrial labour.
- (j) and such other activities as may commend themselves to Congress workers and organizations, which are not inconsistent with the Congress objective or general policy and which will not involve any form of civil resistance.

(II) PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Working Committee also expects Congress Committees and workers to render all such assistance as is within their powers to make the work of the Congress Parliamentary Board successful.

4. STUDENTS

The Working Committee expects the student community to take their due share in the social, economic and educational part of the constructive programme of the Congress by devoting to it their spare hours, and particularly their vacations.

5. CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP FORM

Resolved that in the Congress membership forms to be printed in future, the Karachi Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights and Duties and Economic programme as finally shaped by the A. I. C. C. on August 6, 1931, be printed in the receipt form issued to the member enrolled.

6. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Read circular letter No. 1, dated May 23, 1934, of the A. I. C. C. Office. In view of enquiries made upon this letter, resolved as follows:

While recognizing the right of Provincial Congress Committees to nominate any person of their choice for the Presidentship of the ensuing session of the Indian National Congress, the Working Committee reminds the Provincial Congress Committees that Babu Rajendra Prasad was finally elected by a majority of Provincial Congress Committees for the intended session at Puri, but that session was never held. Therefore it seems but proper that he should be unanimously nominated by the Provincial Congress Committees for the ensuing session at Bombay.

7. BOMBAY STRIKE

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. K. F. Nariman placed Bombay P. C. C. Resolution 6, dated June 10, 1934, relating to

Bombay strike, before the Working Committee.

Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Nariman were informed that the Working Committee has no doubt that Congress leaders, either in the province or outside, will be prepared to arbitrate in case all the parties concerned agree to abide by such arbitration.

8 KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS*

The Acting Chairman was asked to draw the attention of the Government to the discrepancy in their communique withdrawing notifications against Congress organizations. The Acting Chairman accordingly sent the following telegram to the Secretary, Home Department, Simla.

The Working Committee, I. N. C., has asked me to draw the Government's attention to the discrepancy in the Communique removing the ban on Congress organisations. The communique withdraws notifications declaring the various constituent parts of the Congress organisation unlawful. But it continues the notification against Red Shirt organizations as if they were not part of the Congress. I am to draw the attention of Government that if by Red Shirt organizations are meant Khudai Khidmatgars they are since August 1931 part of the Congress, pledged to its creed and constitution and subject to its discipline. Their representatives have accepted A. I. C. C. resolution suspending civil resistance. My Committee will be obliged if you would kindly inform me whether in spite of their acceptance of Congress decision they remain unlawful organisations.

*NOTE—The following reply was received by the Acting Chairman from the Home Department, Government of India.

"I have received your telegram of twelfth instant and in reply am desired to say that the Government of India are aware that the N. W. F. Provincial Jirga, which was the name under which the red shirt organization previously known as Afghan Jirga or Khudai Khidmatgaran was working in its latest stages, was described as a part of the Congress organization. The record of its activities, however, is such that the Government do not intend to withdraw the notifications declaring it and its branches to be unlawful."

The General Secretary was asked to re-publish in this connection the resolution of the Working Committee dated July 7, 1931 relating to Volunteer Corps, and the resolution of August 14, 1931 on Khudai Khidmatgars. (See pages 104, 111 and 112).

Resolutions adopted at Bombay on June 17 and 18

9. WHITE PAPER AND COMMUNAL AWARD

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress Policy on the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress Policy on the matters as follows:

The White Paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all the Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal if it does not retard the progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to the important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things it will be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities composing the Indian nation and therefore, in view of the division of opinion, can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts.

At the same time it is necessary to redeclare the policy of the Congress on the Communal question:

No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of the national, which is agreed to by all the parties concerned and, conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory, besides being open to serious objections on other grounds.

It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.

10. NEXT CONGRESS

It was suggested to the Working Committee that, in view of the prevailing monsoon, the last week of October would be preferable to the first week of holding the ensuing Congress Session in Bombay. The Committee resolved accordingly.

11. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD'S CONSTITUTION ETC.

The Committee approved the constitution, rules and pledge adopted by the Board.

12. NEXT MEETING

It was decided that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held in Benares on July 27.

13. SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

Whilst the Working Committee welcomes the formation of groups representing different schools of thought, it is necessary, in view of loose talk about confiscation of private property and necessity of class war, to remind Congressmen that the Karachi resolution as finally settled by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay in August 1931, which lays down certain principles,

neither contemplates confiscation of private property without just cause or compensation, nor advocacy of class war. The Working Committee is further of opinion that confiscation and class war are contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence. At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent the exploitation of the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour.

14. CONGRATULATIONS

The Working Committee congratulates Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Syt. Madhavarao Aney upon their withdrawal of their resignations on being pressed by their colleagues, and tenders its thanks for their generous response.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Benares, July 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1934

The Working Committee met at the Kashi Vidyapith, Benaras, on July 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1934. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided and the following members were present:

(1) Mahatma Gandhi; (2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj; (3) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; (4) Syt. Rajendra Prasad; (5) Syt. M. S. Aney; (6) Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar; (7) Syt. K. F. Nariman; (8) Dr. Syed Mahmud and (9) Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Syt. C. Rajagopalachari attended by special invitation.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee were confirmed and also those of its meeting held at Bombay on December 29, 30 and 31, 1931 and January 1, 1932.

The following are among the resolutions passed:—

1. SWADESHI

Doubts having arisen on the Congress policy in regard to Swadeshi, it has become necessary to reaffirm the Congress

position on it in unequivocal terms.

Notwithstanding what was done during the civil resistance struggle, no competition is permissible on Congress platforms and in Congress exhibitions between mill-made cloth and hand-spun and hand-woven khadi. Congressmen are expected to use and encourage the use of only hand-spun and hand-woven khadi to the exclusion of any other cloth.

In regard to articles other than cloth, the Working Committee adopts the following formula for the guidance of all Congress organisations:—

The Working Committee is of opinion that the activities of Congress organisations relating to Swadeshi shall be restricted to useful articles manufactured in India through cottage and other small industries which are in need of popular education for their support and which will accept the guidance of the Congress organisations in regulating prices and in the matter of the wages and welfare of labour under their control.

This formula must not be interpreted to mean any modification of the unbroken policy of the Congress to promote the Swadeshi spirit in the country and to encourage the personal use of only Swadeshi articles. The formula is a recognition of the fact that the large and organised industries which can or do command state aid are in no need of the services of Congress organisations or any Congress effort in their behalf.

2. OFFICE-BEARERS AND CONGRESS POLICY

The Working Committee is of opinion that all Congressmen, whether they believe in the Congress programme and policies or not, are expected, and office-bearers and members of the Executive are in honour bound, to carry them out, and that office-bearers and members of the Executive who carry on propaganda or act against the Congress programme and policies are, in accordance with the rules made by the A. I. C. C. dated May 24, 1929 under Art. XXXI of the Constitution, clearly guilty of breach of discipline and liable to disciplinary action.

3. ILLEGAL ELECTION METHODS

The Working Committee has noted with deep regret that practices have crept into Congress election methods which are reprehensible and even calculated to invalidate elections. Such, for instance, is the habit of some parties making members by paying their fees with the only object of securing their votes, whereas the object of enrolling members is to keep them in touch with and to interest them in the Congress programme and to take from them such national service as they may be capable of doing. The practice has also grown up in some places of candidates buying for the occasion sufficient khaddar to clothe voters temporarily for the purpose of complying with Article VII(iv) *a* of the Constitution whereas it requires that the voters should be habitual wearers of khaddar. The Working Committee has no doubt that the practice is illegal and defeats the very end for which the khaddar clause was introduced. Election Boards and presiding authorities are to invalidate the votes of those who are manifestly not habitual wearers of khaddar.

4. REGARDING RESOLUTION No. 13 OF 18-6-34

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee on 18th June, 1934:—

"Whilst the Working Committee welcomes the formation of groups representing different schools of thought, it is necessary, in view of loose talk about confiscation of private property and necessity of class war, to remind Congressmen that the Karachi resolution as finally settled by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay in August 1931, which lays down certain principles, neither contemplates confiscation of private property without just cause or compensation, nor advocacy of class war. The Working Committee is further of opinion that confiscation and class war are contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence. At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent the ex-

ploitation of the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour."

Complaints have been made to the Working Committee that this resolution is a reflection upon the newly formed "Congress Socialist Party" and its programme. The Working Committee desires it to be known that the resolution was not intended to criticise any party or its programme but was intended to affect individuals engaged in the loose talk referred to in the resolution.

5. SYT. M. S. ANEY'S RESIGNATION

The Working Committee having considered the resignation of Syt. M. S. Aney recognises the high minded motive that has prompted the resignation and regretfully accepts it. The Working Committee places on record its sense of the great assistance rendered by him to the Committee.

6. DR. MOHAMMAD ALAM'S RESIGNATION

The resignation of Dr. Mohammad Alam dated 24-7-1934 was considered by the Working Committee and the Committee accepted the resignation.

7. CONGRESS RE-ORGANIZATION IN BENGAL

The Working Committee trusts and hopes that all the political groups in Bengal will coalesce and work in harmony so as to enable the Bengal P. C. C. and the district and other sub-committees to function normally and without friction and so as to avoid questionable practices. The Working Committee suggests that the best method of ensuring purity and peace in the setting up of the Congress machinery is by agreement to secure uncontested elections in all the constituencies or as many as possible. If, unfortunately, the Congress machinery cannot be set up in Bengal without the assistance of the Working Committee, it authorises Sjt. M. S. Aney to function, as before, as representative of the Working Committee and to exercise all its powers to enable him to adjust differences, regulate elections, give decisions on points arising in connection with elections and to do all

other things that may be necessary to set up without delay the Congress organization in Bengal. The Working Committee hopes that Sjt. Aney will receive from Congressmen all the help that he may need in the discharge of the responsibility entrusted to him.

8. PURI RECEPTION COMMITTEE SURPLUS

Read letter of Utkal P. C. C. dated 4-7-34. Resolved that the amount should be utilized for such public purpose or purposes as the Reception Committee or the donors may decide.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Wardha, September 9 and 11, 1934

The Working Committee met at Satyagraha Ashram, Wardha, on September 9th and 11th, 1934. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided.

The following members were present:

1. Mahatma Gandhi,
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
3. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu,
4. Sjt. K. F. Nariman,
5. Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sjt. M. S. Aney attended on the first day and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib on both the days by special invitation.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. CONGRESS GOAL AND THE MEANS OF ITS ATTAINMENT

Misgivings have risen in the minds of some Congressmen and others that the Congress goal of *POORNA SWARAJ* or Complete Independence is being imperceptibly watered down. The Working Committee desires, therefore, to state that no Congressman, much less any Congress organisation, can do so without being liable to the charge of indiscipline. Congressmen and Congress organisations have

to shape their course so as to accelerate the pace towards the goal by keeping *POORNA SWARAJ* before their eyes as well as the means for its attainment which must be strictly non-violent and truthful. To this end, Congressmen are expected to give effect to the resolutions and instructions that may from time to time be issued by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee. *POORNA SWARAJ* includes unfettered national control, among other things, over the Army and other defence forces, external affairs, fiscal and commercial matters, financial and economic policy. A free India should have the freedom to make its choice between voluntary partnership with the British and complete separation. Whilst the Congress will not repudiate just obligations, it must adhere to the resolution to have an impartial scrutiny of the obligations to be undertaken by free India. The Congress has repeatedly declared from its inception that the British Empire, as it is constituted to-day, is designed predominantly, if not purely, to subserve British interests at the cost of India and that therefore whilst it will gladly cultivate friendship with the British, it must strain every nerve to end the present unnatural and humiliating connection.

But the Congress has also equally repeatedly declared that this political freedom must remain unattainable without attaining moral or internal freedom by carrying out the comprehensive internal and constructive programme laid down from time to time by the Working Committee. The Congress is nothing if it does not progressively represent and serve the masses. Such service is impossible without following the constructive programme of the Congress with meticulous care and devotion.

2. CONGRESS AND COMING ELECTIONS

The Working Committee considers it desirable to impress on all the Provincial and other subordinate Congress organisations including their office-bearers and members of Executive Committees that it is their duty to help the Congress Parliamentary Board in its election activities and that it is not open to them to support any party or candidate opposed to the official policy of the Congress and it expects every

Congressman, save on grounds of conscience, to support the Congress candidates in the forthcoming elections to the Assembly.

3. ZANZIBAR INDIANS

The Working Committee having learnt from Deenabandhu Andrews the deplorable condition of the Indian settlers of Zanzibar assures them of its sympathy and hopes for the averting of contemplated forcible expropriation of their just rights in a land in which they have settled with families for centuries and in which they have lived in perfect peace with the original inhabitants and, armless, have relied for their safety on just dealings with them and consequent faith in their goodwill.

This Committee reiterates its sense of gratitude towards Deenabandhu Andrews for his unremitting efforts on behalf of Indian settlers overseas, expresses its full confidence in his selfless mission and hopes that he will continue his labours in this direction.

4. POSTPONEMENT OF THE BOMBAY CONGRESS

Read telegram from Sjt. S. Satyamurti suggesting the postponement of the ensuing session of the Congress to some date after the Assembly elections and resolved that the Working Committee did not consider it desirable to postpone the session.

5. BASIS OF CALCULATING DELEGATES

Resolved that the basis of calculating the number of delegates returnable by Provincial Congress Committees to the forthcoming session of the Congress at Bombay shall, as required by Article VIII of the Constitution, be the population of the respective Congress provinces according to the census of 1921.

6. FINAL DATE FOR CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP

In view of the special circumstances of this year, the Working Committee resolves that the final date for enlist-

ment as Congress member under Para. 2 of Article VIII of the Constitution shall be 24th September, 1934.

7. GRANT FOR WORK FOR INDIAN OVERSEAS

The Working Committee considered the application of Sjt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi for the renewal of the monthly grant of Rs. 25 for publicity work for Indians overseas and resolved that the application should be placed before the Committee after the next Congress.

CONGRESS AND NATIONALIST PARTY

Sjt. M. S. Aney had sent to the President of the Working Committee a letter enclosing the resolution of the new party formed by him. Thereupon, as the Parliamentary Board was to meet at Wardha during the week, he invited the members of the Working Committee also to meet and consider the proposal contained in the resolution to convene a meeting of the A. I. C. C. so as to have the resolution of the Working Committee on the Communal Award reviewed by the A. I. C. C. The President invited Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney to attend the meeting and present their viewpoint in person. The Working Committee duly met and gave several hours to the consideration of the question of calling a meeting of the A. I. C. C. and finally came to the conclusion that inasmuch as the Working Committee had no doubt about the propriety of its action and in view of the fact that new elections for the A. I. C. C. are going on, the Working Committee could not take the responsibility of calling the meeting. It was mentioned at the meeting that if members of the A. I. C. C. had any grievance against the Working Committee in respect of its resolution, it was open to any 30 members of the A. I. C. C. to send a requisition which would have compelled the Working Committee to convene such a meeting.

The Working Committee also discussed the question of releasing, on the grounds of conscience, candidates for election to the Assembly, from the obligation to conform to the Working Committee resolution on the Communal Award. The Working Committee came to the conclusion, in the

absence of any such resolution on release by the Working Committee, that no exemption could be granted. Gandhiji had made a proposal to Panditji, in answer to a message sent by the latter through Sjt. Aney, that the way to avoid acrimony and conflict was to reach an agreement on the basis of examination of the prospects of success of rival candidates, the candidature of these who had less chance of success being withdrawn. But while on this no agreement could be reached, the Board decided not to contest seats where Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney stood as candidates. It was also decided not to enter into contest in Sindh and in the city of Calcutta.

APPENDIX No. 1

WHAT HAPPENED AT CALCUTTA

The following statement was issued by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with regard to events that took place in Calcutta during the Congress Session held on April 1, 1933.

My regret at not having been allowed to attend the 47th session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta to preside over it was buried under the satisfaction I felt along with millions of my countrymen at the Congress having been held at Calcutta in spite of all the measures taken by the authorities to discourage and prevent delegates from attending it. That in spite of those measures over 2500 delegates started for Calcutta and were arrested either en route or at Calcutta is the best proof of the strength of the Congress movement. Of these delegates nearly a thousand were arrested and detained before they could reach Calcutta. The rest of them, i.e., over 1500 reached Calcutta and notwithstanding the notice issued by the Police Commissioner were given accommodation at various places in the city. It is interesting to note that among these delegates there were 48 members of the All India Congress Committee, 83 Muslims, 117 ladies, 23 Sikhs, 7 Parsis and 2 Christians. The delegates came from all parts of the country as is shown below.

United Provinces	673
Bengal	300
Bihar	284

Orissa	43
Andhra	23
Tamilnad	27
Kerala	7
Maharashtra	25
Bombay	22
Gujarat	31
C. P. Hindi	50
C. P. Marathi	22
Berar	15
Karnatak	3
Sind	5
Ajmer	3
Delhi	17
Assam	29
Punjab	31
N.-W. F. P.	6

When the news was received at Calcutta that I had been arrested on my way, it was announced on behalf of the Congress that Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta would preside over the Congress. The time and place for holding the Congress were also announced nearly twenty-four hours in advance. And it is worthy of note that notwithstanding all the stringent and laborious measures taken by the Police over 250 delegates representing all parts of the country met at the appointed place punctually as the clock struck 3. Mrs. Sen Gupta was there at her post and started reading her address. All the seven resolutions adopted by the Subjects Committee on the previous evening were read out and passed. Eventually the police made a lathi charge, dispersed the huge crowd which had gathered and arrested the delegates. They bore the assault calmly. Delegate after delegate as he stood up to move resolutions was violently attacked by sergeants wielding lathis with all their might. Care was taken by the sergeants not to aim at the head, but serious injuries were sustained by the delegates at other parts of the body. One delegate, a Vakil from Arrah who kept persistently reading a resolution in spite of a shower of blows had his spectacles broken and one of his eyes severely injured. He may have to lose the eye. The lathi blows were supplemented by kicking. Women delegates

were not beaten, though some of them who tenaciously stuck to the National Flag were roughly handled in an attempt to snatch the flag from them. All honour to these delegates who conducted themselves as worthy soldiers of the peaceful army of the Congress and stood a most severe test of their creed of non-violence. I have referred to the manner in which they were beaten and assaulted not in order to complain of the violence and provocation of the police but to give an idea to the public of the ordeal through which the Congress Session had to pass.

But there is one episode which happened in Calcutta before the session of the Congress to which I wish to draw pointed attention. It relates to the behaviour of the police on the evening of the 30th March. Eighty-nine delegates from the U. P. after having been taken into custody in the course of a police raid, were assaulted by European or Anglo-Indian Police Sergeants in the Lal Bazar Thana. The assault was wanton, brutal and evidently premeditated. Many of the delegates suffered severe contusions on their faces and heads for which some are still under medical treatment. Some of these delegates occupy high positions in society and are well-known in their districts. The facts of the shameful incident as represented by Mr. Jwaran Paliwal of Farrukhabad, the leader of the group, and several other victims, are briefly as follows:

At 5 p.m. on the 30th March the Police raided a building in Nawab Badruddin Street and arrested 89 delegates all of whom were from U. P. including 3 from Meerut. The prisoners were taken to the Kolutala Thana and kept there for about half an hour. The behaviour of these delegates, as of all other delegates arrested at different times and in different places, was entirely peaceful. No resistance was offered by anybody either at the time of arrest or while they were being hustled into the prison vans. From Kolutala Thana they were removed to the Lal Bazar Thana at about 7-30 p.m. When the prisoners arrived sergeants came rushing from different directions and lined themselves up in two rows facing each other between the exit of the vans and the gate of the lock-up in which the prisoners were to be kept. They were about 30 in all. Some of them were seen wrapping

their hands with cloth as though preparing for a boxing contest. Shouts of 'ready', 'ready' were raised among the sergeants which the prisoners clearly heard. The prisoners were thereupon ordered to alight one by one. Each one of them on alighting was set upon by the sergeants and be laboured with sticks and fists. Only a few of the sergeants had sticks, the main body of them used their fists. Blows were freely directed at the stomach, chest, face, eyes and head. Delegates who tottered under a blow which fell on the right side received another immediately on their left. When a prisoner who had been cuffed in the stomach placed his hands there a shower of fists fell on his unprotected head and face. Anyone who lowered his head got a violent punch on his chin. Those who fell down under the assault were kicked with heavy boots. One delegate from Etawah who tried to protect his head with his hands was seized by several sergeants who dashed his head against a wall and kept him pressed to it by the throat. His head was badly injured and bled profusely. Several delegates were unconscious or semi-unconscious for a long time after the assault was over. Over a dozen delegates bled either from a torn lip, an injured eye, broken teeth or a broken head. The sergeants kept punctuating their brute-like beating with foul abuse. Every one of the delegates had per force to pass through the double row of sergeants and none of them escaped the assault. Some who happened to come out of their vans in groups got off lightly as compared to those who came out in singles. At length when the sergeants' appetite was appeased the medical attendant of the Thana administered first aid, while sergeants kept jeering and joking at the plight of their victims. Tincture Iodine was applied to the wounds. Some who were senseless or suffered from severe pain particularly from blows received on the stomach and ribs were attended to by their fellow delegates who fanned them with handkerchiefs and gave them water to drink. Maulvi Abdul Latif of Lucknow who had fainted from his injuries in the ribs and was in a serious condition had to be treated with fomentation and was eventually sent to the police hospital at night. Pandit Shiva Datta Pande of Lucknow whose condition caused grave anxiety, was also sent to the Police hospital for the treatment of injuries in the stomach. Others with

similar injuries spent the night in the Thana in agony. Next day, i.e., on the 31st March, they were all removed to the Presidency Jail where the injured had to be specially attended to. Some had to be immediately admitted to the Jail hospital. The blood on the face of several of them was washed and their blood-stained clothes changed in jail. Pandit Kapil Dev Pande of Gorakhpore, Pandit Jay Dev Shasri of Farrukhabad and Pandit Shiva Prasad Shukla of Bahraich still carry prominent marks of injuries on their eyes and nose. Pandit Om Prakash Tiwari of Agra and Pandit Satya Narayan Datt of Etawah display torn lower lips. Thakur Kamal Singh of Agra and Sjt. Devi Dass of Jhansi bear marks of severe injuries on the nose whilst a number of delegates still continue to suffer acute pain in the stomach and ribs. Three delegates Maulvi Abdul Latif and Pandit Shiva Datt of Lucknow and Pandit Shiva Prasad Shukla of Bahraich were kept in the Jail Hospital throughout their detention, and the former two were unable to sit up or move by themselves even when they were released on the 6th April. Sjt. Virendra Kumar Sadh of Farrukhabad who had been badly injured in the ribs has had to be detained in Calcutta for treatment.

Since writing the above, other incidents of a similar nature that took place at Kalighat and in the Bhowanipore Thana have come to my notice. The prisoners who were assaulted in this thana and on their way to it were released only on the 7th i.e., the day I left Calcutta. Some of them have since seen me in Benares and related details of assaults on delegates who had been arrested at Kalighat on the 30th March and 1st April. The facts are briefly as follows:—

On the 30th March about 180 delegates were arrested at Kalighat. They were marched to the Bhowanipore Police Station on foot under police escort. A sergeant whose name is known to the delegates distinguished himself by wantonly assaulting several delegates while putting them under arrest, as also after arrest. He set upon Mr. Fakir Chand of Cawnpore for shouting slogans and beat him with a stick in several parts of the body. Mr. Fakir Chand bears marks of violent blows on the head, left arm and other parts of the body. His condition having become grave, he was sent at midnight in a rickshaw to the Police hospital. Similarly Sjts. Ram

Saroop and Maujilal of Unaо were beaten by the same man for raising slogans. Both these delegates had to be sent to the police hospital at night. Sjt. Naroang Singh of Gonda was given a blow with the stick on his face so that two of his teeth were broken and the upper lip badly injured. Sjt. Sukhdeo Prasad of Gorakhpore was struck several blows causing profuse bleeding. He too was treated later on in the Police hospital. Sjt. Ram Palak Singh and Sjt. Sampuran Tiwari of Basti got violent blows on their heads causing bleeding wounds. Sjt. Mata Prasad of Gonda was hit on his private parts. He is still suffering from the injuries and finds urination extremely painful. Nearly 40 persons in the batch of about 180 received injuries caused mainly by one sergeant.

The other incident relates to the arrest of 21 delegates of U. P. who occupy leading positions in the Congress. This batch was arrested on the 1st of April at Kalighat at about 11 a.m. They were taken to the Bhowanipore Thana in a bus. At the Thana they were given chairs and benches to sit on. While the names and other particulars were being taken down the same stout sergeant mentioned above appearing on the scene suddenly pulled Thakur Munshi Singh of Hardoi by the ear and shouting 'you cried' Down with the British Government 'eh?' punched him several times heavily on the temples. The sergeant was interrupted in his brutal attack on Thakur Munshi Singh by a telephone call. But he returned from the telephone and began to belabour his victim again. When Mr. Rustom Satin a delegate from Jhansi tried to remonstrate on behalf of his companion the sergeant struck a heavy blow with his stick on his head causing a big swelling. The sergeant then kept growling and brandishing his encased revolver at the delegates. He retired eventually only on the arrival of a Magistrate who had been summoned in view of the important arrests of these men. Later Mr. L. G. Kher a leading Congressman and Vakil of Jhansi who was one of the delegates refused to supply any more particulars as regards the name and addresses of his group unless the incident of the wanton attack on Thakur Munshi Singh and Mr. Rustom was duly noted by the Police.

Eventually their demand was complied with and the fact of the assault recorded in the Police Diary.

The beating during the actual Congress Session might have been expected. But one could hardly believe that prisoners in custody would be treated in the atrocious manner described above. I make a present of these facts to those who are in power. To those who suffered I offer my respectful sympathy and my congratulations on the cool courage with which they bore the cowardly assaults. Their silent suffering will soon kill the system which permits human beings to be so brutally treated and humiliated for no other crime than that they desire the same freedom for their country that their oppressors enjoy in their own.

(Sd.) MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

BENARES
April 9, 1933

APPENDIX No. 2

MAHATMA GANDHI'S STATEMENT DATED THE 30TH APRIL, 1933

A tempest has been raging within me for some days. I have been struggling against it. On the eve of the 'Harijan Day', the voice became insistent, and said: "Why don't you do it? I resisted it. But resistance was in vain and the resolution was made to go on an unconditional and irrevocable fast for twenty-one days commencing from Monday noon the 8th May and ending on Monday noon the 29th May.

As I look back upon the immediate past, many are the causes too sacred to mention, that must have precipitated the fast. But they are all connected with the great Harijan cause. The fast is against nobody in particular, and against everybody who wants to participate in the joy of it without for the time being having to fast himself or herself. But it is particularly against myself. It is a heart-prayer for the purification of self and associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness. But nobody who appreciates the step about to

be taken is to join me. Any such fast will be a torture of themselves and of me. Let this fast, however, be a preparation for many such fasts to be taken by purer and more deserving persons than myself.

During all these months since September last, I have been studying the correspondence and literature and holding prolonged discussions with men and women, learned and ignorant Harijans and non-Harijans. The evil is far greater than even I had thought it to be. It will not be eradicated by money, external organisation and even political power for Harijans, though all these three are necessary. But to be effective, they must follow or at least accompany inward organisation, and inward power, in other words, self-purification. This can only come by fasting and prayer. We may not approach the God of Truth in arrogance of strength, but in the meekness of the weak and the helpless.

But the mere fast of the body is nothing without the will behind. It must be a genuine confession of an inner fast, an irrepressible longing to express truth and nothing but the truth.

Therefore, those only are privileged to fast for the cause of truth, who have worked for it and who have love in them even for opponents, who are free from animal passion, and who have abjured earthly possessions and ambition. No one, therefore, may undertake without previous preparation and discipline, the fast I have foreshadowed.

Let there be no misunderstanding about the impending fast. I want to live for the cause, though I hope I am equally prepared to die for it. But, I need for me and my fellow-workers greater purity, greater application and dedication. I want more workers of unassailable purity. Shocking cases of impurity have come under my notice. I would like my fast to be an urgent appeal to such people to leave the cause alone.

I know that many of my Sanatanist friends and others think that the movement is a deep political game. How I wish this fast would convince them that it is purely religious.

If God has more service to take from this body, He will hold it together despite deprivation of earthly food. He will

send me spiritual food. But He works through earthly agents and everyone who believes in the imperative necessity of removing untouchability will send me the food I need by working to the best of his or her ability, for the due and complete fulfilment of the pledge given to Harijans in the name of Caste Hindus.

Let co-workers not get agitated over the coming fast. They should feel strengthened by it. They must not leave their post of duty; and those who have temporarily retired for much needed rest or for being cured of ailments, are as much at the post as healthy workers serving in their respective quarters. No one should come to me unless it be for necessary consultation on matters connected with the movement.

It is, I hope, needless, for me to pray of friends that they will not ask me to postpone, abandon or vary the approaching fast in any way whatsoever. I ask them to believe me that the fast has come to me literally as described above. I, therefore, ask friends in India and all the world over to pray with me, that I may safely pass through the ordeal, and that whether I live or die, the cause for which the fast is to be undertaken may prosper.

And may I ask my Sanatanist friends to pray that whatever be the result of the fast for me, the lid that hides the truth may be removed.

APPENDIX No. 3

MAHATMA GANDHI'S STATEMENT DATED 8TH MAY, 1933 SUSPENDING TEMPORARILY THE C. D. MOVEMENT

I cannot regard this release with any degree of pleasure. As Sardar Vallabhbhai rightly remarked to me yesterday, how can I take advantage of this release in order to prosecute the Civil Disobedience campaign or to guide it? This release, therefore, puts upon me, as a seeker after truth and a man of honour, a tremendous burden and strain. This fast has to continue. I had hoped and I still hope, not to excite myself over anything and not to take part in discussions of any nature whatsoever. The whole purpose of the fast will

be frustrated if I allowed my brain to be occupied by any extraneous matter, that is, any matter outside the Harijan work. At the same time, having been released, I should be bound to give a little of my energies to a study of the Civil Disobedience movement.

Of course, for the moment, I can only say that my views about Civil Disobedience have undergone no change whatsoever. I have nothing but praise for the bravery and self-sacrifice of the numerous civil resisters, but having said that, I cannot help saying that the secrecy that has attended the movement is fatal to its success. If, therefore, the movement must be continued, I would urge those who are guiding the movement in different parts of the country to discard all secrecy. I do not care if, thereby, it becomes difficult to secure a single civil resister.

There can be no doubt that fear has seized the common mass. The Ordinances have cowed them down, and I am inclined to think that the secret methods are largely responsible for the demoralisation. The movement of Civil Disobedience does not depend so much upon the quantity as on the quality of men and women taking part in it, and if I was leading the movement, I should sacrifice quantity and insist on quality. If this could be done, it would immediately raise the level of the movement.

I can say nothing as to the actual campaign. The reflections I have given, I had bottled up all these many months, and I can say that Sardar Vallabhbhai is one with me in what I have said. One word I would say. Whether I like it or not, during these three weeks, all civil resisters will be in a state of terrible suspense. It would be better if the President of the Congress, Bapuji Madhavrao Aney, were to officially declare suspension for one full month or even six weeks.

Now, I would make an appeal to the Government. If they want real peace in the land, and if they feel there is no real peace, if they feel that Ordinance rule is no rule, they should take advantage of this suspension, and unconditionally discharge all the civil resisters. If I survive the ordeal, it will give me time to survey the situation, and to tender advice both to the Congress leaders and if I may venture to do so, to the Government. I would like to take up the

thread at the point where I was interrupted on my return from England.

If no understanding is arrived at between the Government and the Congress as a result of my effort, and Civil Disobedience is resumed, it will be open to the Government, if they so choose, to revive the Ordinance Rule.

If there is the will on the part of the Government, I have no doubt that a modus operandi can be found. Of this, so far as I am concerned, I am absolutely certain that Civil Disobedience cannot be withdrawn so long as so many Civil resisters are imprisoned. No settlement can be arrived at so long as Sardar Vallabhbhai, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others are buried alive. Indeed, to call off Civil resistance is not within the power of any of the men who are out of prison. It is possible only for the Working Committee that was in existence at the time I was arrested.

I shall say no more on the Civil Disobedience movement. Perhaps, I have already said too much, but if I was to say anything, I could say so only whilst I have strength left in me. I would urge pressmen not to worry me any more. I would urge also would be visitors once more to restrain themselves. Let them regard me as being still in prison. I shall be unfit for holding political discussions or any other discussions.

I would like to be left in perfect peace, and I would like to tell the Government that I shall not abuse the release. If I come safely through the ordeal and I find the political atmosphere as murky as it is today, without taking a single step secretly or openly in furtherance of Civil Disobedience, I shall invite them to take me back to Yerwada to companions whom I almost seem to have deserted.

It was a great privilege for me to have been with Sardar Vallabhbhai. I was well aware of his matchless bravery and his burning love for the country, but I had never lived with him as I had the good fortune to do during the last sixteen months. The affection with which he covered me recalls to me that of my own dear mother. I never knew him to possess motherly qualities. If the slightest thing happened to me, he would be out of his bed. He superintended every

little detail in connection with my comforts. He and my other associates had conspired to let me do nothing, and I hope that the Government will believe me when I say that he always showed a remarkable comprehension of the difficulties of the Government, whenever we discussed any political problem. His solicitude for the farmers of Bardoli and Kaira I can never forget.

APPENDIX No. 4

SYT. M. S. ANEY'S STATEMENT DATED THE 9TH MAY, 1933

I feel sure, although the news of the fast of Mahatma Gandhi is bound to cast a dark shadow of anxiety and gloom throughout the country, that it will be some relief to his countrymen, as well as friends and followers throughout the world, to know that the Government has at any rate released him unconditionally, and allowed him to observe his vow and practice his great penance as a free citizen. In the statement issued to the press, last night, after his release, he has expressed his views on the conduct of the Civil Disobedience movement which I have no doubt will receive the consideration they deserve from every Civil Resister.

It is perfectly true that during the period of the fast, Civil Resisters would be in a state of suspense, and as a consequence he has advised me to officially suspend the Civil Disobedience campaign for one month or even six weeks. In his statement, he has emphatically stated what I have been saying more than once during the last four months, in reply to various critics of the Civil Disobedience movement that "Civil Disobedience cannot be withdrawn so long as many Civil Resisters are imprisoned and no settlement can be arrived at so long as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and others are buried alive. Indeed, the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience is not within the power of the men who are out of prison. It is possible only for the original Working Committee to do so. I repeat the position so lucidly and emphatically enumerated by Mahatma Gandhi.

The above is the only rational and constitutional position for Congressmen to take on the point of withdrawal of

the Civil Disobedience campaign. But the question of suspending the campaign to serve a definite object for a limited period undoubtedly stands on a different footing. It is no doubt a serious responsibility which I have been called upon to shoulder. But I am armed with the weapon that the advice comes from one who is not only the author of the present Civil Disobedience campaign, but the originator and sole authority on the science and practice of Civil Disobedience itself.

In response to the Mahatma's suggestion, which also strikes me as the proper thing to do at this time and in order to eliminate from the atmosphere all elements of excitement to render it pure for all of us to enable us to be in prayerful mood to invoke the blessings of the Almighty on the cause for which Mahatma Gandhi is undergoing this penance and to supply him with abundance of spiritual food so necessary to sustain him through this ordeal, I declare officially that the Civil Disobedience movement shall be suspended for six weeks beginning with Tuesday, the 9th May.

In conclusion, I repeat my appeal to every man and woman to utilise this period to the best of his or her ability and energy in the service of such work for the uplift of Harijans, as may most commend itself to him or her.

APPENDIX No. 5

To

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY
VICEROY CAMP

Will H. E. grant me interview exploring possibilities of peace. Kindly wire

GANDHI

Dated July 14, 1933

Copy of telegram received from the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy, dated Simla, July 17, 1933:

In reply to your telegram asking for an interview His Excellency has directed me to say that if the circumstances were different he would gladly have seen you. But it would seem that you are opposed to withdrawing Civil Disobedience except on conditions and that the interview you seek with

His Excellency is for the purpose of initiating negotiations with Government regarding these conditions. It also appears to have been decided that unless Congress reaches a settlement with Government as a result of such discussions Civil Disobedience will be resumed on 1st August. It is hardly necessary to remind you that the position of Government that the Civil Disobedience movement is wholly unconstitutional that there can be no compromise with it and that Government cannot enter into any negotiations for its withdrawal. On April 29, 1932 the Secretary of State stated in the House of Commons that there would be no question of making a bargain with Congress as a condition of its cooperation. The same position has been consistently maintained by Government in numerous subsequent statements. If the Congress desires to resume its position as a constitutional party and to put an end to a movement which has brought grave injury and suffering to the country the way is open to it as it always has been. It is within the power of the Congress to restore peace by withdrawing on its own initiative the Civil Disobedience movement. As however the Congress is not willing to take that action an interview with His Excellency would be to no purpose.

(Sd.) *Private Secretary to Viceroy*

To

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

SIMLA

Your wire even date has come upon me as a painful surprise. I had not expected that Government would take official notice of unauthorised publication of confidential proceedings of an informal conference and on basis thereof reject request for interview. If interview were granted I could show that proceedings taken as a whole were calculated to bring about an honourable peace. Conference undoubtedly favourable to peace if it can be attained without humiliation. If however Government hold that they cannot have any conversation even for promoting peace with representative of an association engaged in activities in breach of

state laws however repressive they may be until that association first discontinue such right belonging to human family I can have nothing to say. Nevertheless I would like to add a personal note. My life is regulated by peaceful motives. I hanker for real peace but I must confess that I cannot be satisfied with a makeshift If I resort to non-co-operation or civil disobedience it is for establishing true and voluntary co-operation and obedience to laws in place of forced co-operation and forced obedience. I therefore hope that my request for interview will be granted.

GANDHI

PARNKUTI, POONA
Dated July 17, 1933

Copy of telegram received from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, dated Simla, July 17, 1933:

His Excellency had hoped that position of Government was plain. It is that Civil Disobedience is a movement intended to coerce the Government by means of unlawful activities and that there can be no question of Government holding conversation with a representative of an association which has not abandoned that movement—P. S. V.

APPENDIX No. 6

FULL TEXT OF SYT. M. A. ANEY'S STATEMENT

Having considered very carefully the recommendations of the informal conference recently held in Poona and the discussions among Congressmen in the conference and outside and the advice tendered by Mahatma Gandhi I have come to the conclusion that the best interests of the country would be served by the following instructions being carried out:—

1. The campaign of Civil Disobedience should not be unconditionally withdrawn in the existing circumstances.
2. Mass Civil Disobedience including no-tax and no-rent campaign should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and who may be prepared to act on their own responsibilities to continue Civil Disobedience being reserved.

3. All those who are able and willing to offer individual Civil Disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from Congress organisations are expected to do so.

4. Secret methods such as have been followed hitherto should be abandoned.

5. All Congress organisations including the office of the A. I. C. C. should cease to exist for the time being provided however that wherever possible the line of dictators in the provinces and All-India dictators should continue.

6. All Congressmen who are unable for any reason whatsoever to offer civil resistance are expected to carry on individually or corporately such constructive activities of the Congress for which they are fitted.

I hereby appoint Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram as my successor on my being imprisoned.

I regret it has not been possible to call off the movement and it has become necessary for me to issue these instructions. I share with many others, whether Congressmen or others, my disappointment that the very simple request of Mahatma Gandhi unaccompanied by any conditions for an interview with his Excellency the Viceroy in order to explore possibilities of peace was summarily rejected. His Excellency very wrongly allowed himself to be influenced by the unauthorised reports of confidential proceedings of an informal conference which for the sake of furthering peace efforts were purposely held back from publication. His Excellency should have known that at that conference there was an overwhelming opinion in favour of seeking such an interview and therefore for an honourable peace. I hold it to be impossible for any Congress organisation or its representative to accept the terms peremptorily laid down by His Excellency as a condition precedent to any conversation for peace. I hope that the nation will compel a revision of this attitude by developing the requisite strength at whatever cost it may be.

In spite of these instructions it should be borne in mind that the suspension of the campaign up to the end of this month stands.

APPENDIX No. 7

Karachi resolution condensed, to be printed on Membership Forms

WHAT SWARAJ WILL INCLUDE. KARACHI CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Swaraj as conceived by the Congress should include real economic freedom of the masses. The Congress declares that no constitution will be acceptable to it unless it provides or enables the Swaraj Government to provide for:

- (1) Freedom of expression, association and meeting.
- (2) Freedom of religion.
- (3) Protection of all cultures and languages.
- (4) All citizens shall be equal before the law.
- (5) No disability in employment or trade or profession on account of religion, caste or sex.
- (6) Equal rights and duties for all in regard to public wells, schools etc.
- (7) All to have right to bear arms in accordance with regulations.
- (8) No person to be deprived of property or liberty except in accordance with law.
- (9) Religious neutrality of State.
- (10) Adult Suffrage.
- (11) Free compulsory primary education.
- (12) No titles to be conferred.
- (13) Capital punishment to be abolished.
- (14) Freedom of movement for every citizen of India and right to settle and acquire property in any part thereof, and equal protection of law.
- (15) Proper standard of life for industrial workers and suitable machinery for settlement of disputes between employers and workers and protection against old age, sickness, etc.
- (16) All labour to be free from conditions of serfdom.

- (17) Special protection of women workers.
- (18) Children not to be employed in mines and factories.
- (19) Rights of peasants and workers to form unions.
- (20) Reform of system of land revenue and tenure and rent, exempting rent and revenue for uneconomical holdings and reduction of dues payable for smaller holdings.
- (21) Inheritance tax on graduated scale.
- (22) Reduction of military expenditure by at least half.
- (23) No servant of State ordinarily to be paid above Rs. 500 per month.
- (24) Abolition of Salt tax.
- (25) Protection of indigenous cloth against competition of foreign cloth.
- (26) Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.
- (27) Currency and exchange to be in national interest.
- (28) Nationalisation of key industries and services, railways, etc.
- (29) Relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury.
- (30) Military training for citizens.

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